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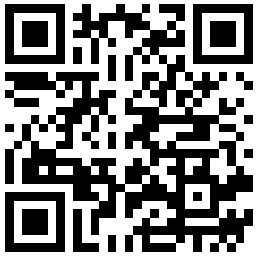

THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

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BULLETIN 22

STOCKHOLM 1987

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The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities
MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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Sargtextsprüche 912 und 629: zwei neue Stockholmer Varianten

Beate George

Die ägyptische Sammlung in Stockholm besitzt aus der Gayer-Anderson Collection einen dreiseitigen Holzstab mit der Inventarnummer MM 19280 (Abb. 1). Über seinen Fundort in Ägypten ist nichts bekannt. Seine Länge beträgt 58,5 cm, seine Dicke am rechtwinkligen Ende 4,7 cm und seine grösste Höhe 8 cm. Die zwei Seiten, die im rechten Winkel zueinander stehen, sind undekoriert, die dritte aber, die im Querschnitt wie ein Parabelarm gewölbt ist, trägt einen weissen Stucküberzug. Diese Oberfläche ist in zwei Felder eingeteilt, die oben und unten an den Enden des Stabes und in der Mitte von drei blaugrünen, schwarz umrahmten schmalen Farbstreifen eingefasst sind. Die beiden weissen Felder sind durch senkrechte schwarze Striche in Zeilen gegliedert, die zwei Inschriften in schwarz enthalten. Der obere Text ist eine Variante von Sargtextspruch 912, der untere von einem Teil von Spruch 629. Beide Varianten waren A. de Buck nicht bekannt und sind erst kürzlich von Bengt Peterson identifiziert worden. Der Holzstab ist Teil eines Sarges gewesen. Die obere Inschrift (912) nimmt vier Zeilen ein, die untere (629) sechs. Die Schriftzeichen sind nach rechts gewandt und senkrecht angeordnet; beide Texte beginnen rechts oben. Der weisse Stuck hat stellenweise durch Witterungseinflüsse seine Farbe geändert. Auch ist er an einigen Stellen abgeplatzt, was das Entziffern beider Inschriften besonders in der letzten Zeile erschwert. Fünf grosse Bohrlöcher von etwa 1 cm Durchmesser sind auf den Trennstrichen zwischen den Textzeilen angebracht (Abb. 2–3): zwei (A–B), die durch die *Höhe* des Stabes verlaufen, befinden sich zwischen Zeile 1 und 2; die drei übrigen (C–E), die durch die *Dicke* des Stabes verlaufen, sind in einer senkrechten Linie zwischen Zeile 2 und 3 des oberen Textes bzw. Zeile 4 und 5 des unteren angebracht. In diesen drei Löchern sitzen noch die ursprünglichen Pflöcke – in den zwei oberen durch die ganze Länge der Bohrlöcher erhalten, im untersten nur teilweise – mit denen dieser Stab befestigt war.

Wie sah nun diese Befestigung im einzelnen aus? Der Holzstab hat an der Innenseite eines Sargdeckels als Querleiste parallel zum Kopf- oder Fussende eines Sarges gesessen (Abb. 4), um den Deckel sicher und ohne Rutschgefahr auf die Sargwanne legen zu können. Die zwei Löcher durch die Höhe des Stabes dienten zur Verdübelung im Deckel. Die drei Löcher durch die Dicke waren notwendig, um den Sarg sicher zu verschliessen: sie dienten zur Verdübelung in der Sargwanne, und zwar sind drei Pflöcke von aussen durch drei Löcher in der Sargwand und die drei entsprechenden Löcher durch die Dicke der Querleiste eingesetzt worden. Aus der Länge des Holzstabes – fast 59 cm – ergibt sich die innere Breite des ursprünglich dazugehörigen Sarges. Da die Breite vieler erhaltener Särge bei 40 bis 50 cm liegt, dürfte die Querleiste wohl zu einem äusseren Sarg von grösseren Proportionen gehört haben. Leider geben die erhaltenen Inschriften keinerlei Aufschlüsse über Namen und Herkunft des ehemaligen Besitzers des Sarges.

Die Texte sind mit sogenannten Kursivhieroglyphen geschrieben, wobei manche Zeichen kaum von ihrer hieroglyphischen Form abweichen, andere dagegen völlig hieratisch sind. Beide Sprüche werden in ihrer Originalschrift in Fotos wiedergegeben und ausserdem in hieroglyphischer Transkription zusammen mit de Bucks Varianten (A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, VI, Chicago 1956: spell 629; VII, Chicago 1961: spell 912). Da der Holzstab zuerst Spruch 912 und danach 629 anführt, werden sie hier ebenfalls in dieser Reihenfolge behandelt. Die den Stockholmer Transkriptionen beigegebenen Ziffern bezeichnen die Zeilen auf der Quer-

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leiste. Kommentare zur Paläographie werden im Anschluss an die beiden Übersetzungen für beide Texte zusammen gegeben.

Sargtextspruch 912 (Abb. 5 und 6): Die Stockholmer Variante ist vollständiger als die einzige bisher bekannte dieses Spruches, die von einem Frauensarg aus el Berscheh, heute in Boston, stammt. Sie weicht ausserdem stellenweise im Text direkt ab. Die Übersetzung folgt der Stockholmer Version:

> Ich bin (der Besitzer)[a] dieses Namens dieses Gottes, der sich in der *j3dw*-Stätte [b] befindet, geheimer als die Götter, dessen Name (mir) bekannt ist. Ich bin gekommen, damit ich die Wege weise und damit ich ihre Hüter zähle. Ich habe Macht über die *j3dw*-Stätte, sie hat keine Macht über mich[c]. Meine Schritte werden nicht zurückgetrieben [d], nicht gibt es meine Fussfessel[e]. Nicht habe ich Widerstand geleistet dem Stab des Starken[f]. Ich habe den Uräus gegessen am gestrigen Tage, ich habe (ihn) verschlungen an diesem Tage. Ich bin (der Besitzer)[g] der *j3dw*-Stätte. Ich sorge für Luft [h]. [...[i]] Ich bin träge an Herz[j].

a: *jnk* kann Angabe für den Besitzer sein, was in Texten des Mittleren Reichs oft durch *nnk* ausgedrückt wird: A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar [3], Oxford 1964, § 114,3 und K. Sethe, Das Pronomen 1. sing. *n-nk* und die Eingangsworte zum 17. Kapitel des Totenbuches, ZÄS 54, 1918, 40–49. Sowohl R. O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, III, Warminster 1978, 61 als auch P. Barguet, Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du moyen empire, Paris 1986, 616 lesen *rnpj* – young bzw. rajeunie. Dass der Tote sich mit dem Grossen Namen (*rn wr*) als göttlichem Wesen identifiziert, ist belegt CT VII 354 d, 357 a und 513 d.

b: *j3dw* – WB I 35,8 ist als 11. Stätte (*j3.t*) in Totenbuchspruch 149 belegt.

c: *n sḏm.f* in diesem und dem folgenden Satz kann als Präsenz aufgefasst werden, obwohl seine Entsprechung in der Bedeutung zu *sḏm.n.f* geläufiger ist: cf. Gardiner, § 455,2; 105,1.

d: *sḫn*, in der Parallele *ḥn*, nach Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, Oxford 1962: encumber, obstruct. Man kann *sḫn* auch als Kausativ zu *ḥn* – zurückweichen (WB III 103, 22) auffassen, also: zurückweichen machen, zurücktreiben.

e: *jmj rd* – nach WB I 74, 17: Fussfessel (?) oder Widersacher, Feind (?) mit Belegen aus den Pyramidentexten. Fussfessel passt gut in den Textzusammenhang, in dem gerade vorher Schritte erwähnt worden sind. Zu Negativsätzen mit *n* und nominalem oder pronominalem Prädikat konstatiert Gardiner § 134: examples are uncommon.

f: Hier hat die Parallele den umgekehrten Inhalt, nämlich dass dem Stab der N nicht Widerstand geleistet wird. Um den Unterschied zwischen *n sḏm.f* und *n sḏm.n.f* zu markieren, ist hier in der Übersetzung eine Form der Vergangenheit gewählt, was möglich ist: cf. Gardiner § 418, 2.

g: Eine Konstruktion wie bei Anm. a. Denkbar wäre vielleicht auch: ich bin *j3dw*, nämlich der Gott der *j3dw*-Stätte. Für die Auffassung der Stätte als Gott könnte das Götterdeterminativ in der Parallele CT VII 117 l sprechen.

h: *mḫrw* – WB II 132, 12: vereinzelt MR und NR für *mḥrw* – WB II 134, 12 ff.

i: Am Anfang von Zeile 4 dürften 4 Gruppen von Zeichen fehlen. Leider weist auch die Parallele hier eine Lücke auf.

j: Abweichender Schluss von der Parallele, die *nb j3dw* – Herr der *j3dw*-Stätte hat. *wsf* – WB I 357, 2 ff: faul, träge sein; säumen, zögern; etwas vernachlässigen. Dies Epitheton erinnert an *wrḏ jb* – Herzensmüder, womit Osiris oft benannt ist.

Sargtextspruch 629 (Abb. 7–11): Dieser Spruch ist bisher zweimal von ein und demselben Sarg aus Siut bekannt, der sich heute in Kairo befindet. Die Stockholmer Variante ist kürzer als beide bei de Buck verzeichneten und beginnt mitten im Spruch. Sie hat ausserdem eine abweichende Reihenfolge: der Text beginnt mit CT VI 248 l, m, n, hat dann 249 a, b; 248 o, p; 249 c–k; 248 j. Ausserdem kommen auch Unterschiede im Inhalt vor, vor allem welche Person für wen etwas tut, bzw. wer zu wem spricht. Der Deutlichkeit halber ist die Übersetzung des Stockholmer Textes mit der Bezifferung versehen, die de Buck für die Paralleltexte verwendet. Ausserdem sind die zwei Sprecher des Textes, der Tote und ein Frager, der zu den Boten des Osiris gehört, hier indiziert.

Der Tote redet im vorhergehenden Teil der Inschrift, der auf der Querleiste nicht vorhanden ist, vom Opfergefilde des Osiris:

Toter:	VI 248 l:	... das Brot gibt aus sich den Herren, aus Teig[a].
	248 m:	Ich sorge für meinen Bedarf unter ihnen.
	248 n:	Ich bestimme [b] meine Äcker.
Frager:	249 a:	Wer (bist du)?[c]
	249 b:	so kommen (oder: so sagen)

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		zu (mir)[d] die Boten[e] des Stiers der Überschwemmung.
Toter:	248 o:	(Ich)[f] sorge für den Bedarf eines jeden einzelnen von ihnen.
	248 p:	(Ich)[f] setze ihre Hüter [g] fest.
	249 c:	Ich bin einer, der niedertritt[h].
Frager:	249 d:	Warum bist du hierher gekommen?
Toter:	249 e:	Ich bin gekommen, um mich in die beiden Opfergefilde zu begeben[i], die dem Osiris gehören.
Frager:	249 f:	Wer (bist du)? *Toter*: Ich habe für dich geordnet das Innere des Andjet-Gaues[j],
	249 g:	(damit) du ordnest für mich die Aruren[k]
	249 h:	und (damit) du festsetzt für (mich)[l] die Landgründung[m].
	249 i:	Ich stelle fest für dich die Grenzsteine der Könige.
	249 j:	Ich öffne für dich die Höhlen, um hinauszugehen nach Busiris.
	249 k:	O *jḫ*[n], ich ordne das Innere des Andjet-Gaues.
	248 j:	O der in Ordnung bringt die Messchnur (?) ...

a: Wie Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts II, Warminster 1977, 213 Anm. 6 konstatiert, ist ein Wort *mḫ3d.t* im Wörterbuch nicht belegt. Dagegen ist *ḫ3d.w* bekannt (WB III 237, 2: Art Teig zu Brot; 4: das aus dem Teige gebackene Brot), das auch Barguet, 284 hier annimmt.

b: Der Stockholmer Text hat *wpj* statt des *šsp* der Varianten. Das Suffix der 1. Person Singular ist am Ende der 1. Zeile nicht deutlich, jedenfalls muss es sich um die verkürzte Schreibung handeln (G. Möller, Hieratische Paläographie I, Leipzig 1909, 33 B), während sonst durchweg 33 verwendet ist: cf. Anmerkungen zur Paläographie. Sowohl hier als auch in CT VI 249 i scheint die Bedeutung von *wpj* als bestimmen, feststellen (WB I 301, 4) am besten zu passen.

c: Das Fragepronomen *nm* (WB II 263, 7 ff) bzw. *jnm* (WB I 96, 11 ff) enthält im Stockholmer Text ein , welche Schreibung im Wörterbuch nicht belegt ist.

d: Faulkner II, 213 Anm. 10 deutet das in allen 3 Texten nur mit zwei Schilfblättern geschriebene Wort als „come", Barguet, 284 „... me disent les Envoyés ..." Im Stockholmer Text fehlt das Suffix der 1. Person Singular nach der Präposition *n*.

e: *jn.w* – Boten (WB I 91, 19) lesen Faulkner und Barguet. Der Vorderteil einer *ḏ*- Schlange scheint im Stockholmer Text deutlich zu sein, so dass hier eine Emendation vorzunehmen wäre.

f: In beiden Fällen fehlt das Suffix der 1.Person Singular, das die Parallelen haben.

g: Die Zeichen am Ende von Zeile 2 sind beschädigt, lassen sich aber als *jr.w* deuten, das ja auch in Spruch 912 Zeile 2 oben vorkommt.

h: Der Stockholmer Text hat *tptp* statt *ptpt* mit Reduplikation sogar des Götterdeterminativs.

i: Abweichend von dem Siut-Sarg; dort ist wieder vom Geben der Versorgung eines jeden die Rede.

j: Der Stockholmer Text weicht von beiden Siut-Varianten ab, in denen es heisst: wer bringt in Ordnung für dich ...? *ḳ3b.w ʿnḏt(j)* fassen Faulkner und Barguet etwas unterschiedlich auf, wobei beide Übersetzungen möglich sind. Faulkner II, 213 Anm. 4: „windings of A.: presumably of the A. waterways". Barguet, 284 hat „l'intérieur du nome d'A".

k: Faulkner übersetzt *sṯ3.wt* mit „drag-ropes", als Ableitung von *sṯ3* – ziehen (WB IV 351, 7 ff). Barguet hat „aroures" (WB IV, 356, 1 ff).

l: Reste der Präposition *n* scheinen klar zu sein, das Suffix dagegen ist zerstört.

m: *wḥʿ t3* – WB I 349, 11: das Land (Ägypten) gründen (mit Bezug auf die Weltschöpfung). Die Schreibung der Stockholmer Variante weicht sowohl vom Wörterbuch als auch von den Siut-Texten ab. Faulkner übersetzt „fishermen of the land", wohl wegen des Fischdeterminativs von *wḥʿ*.

n: Der Siut-Sarg hat: *j rj*, was Barguet mit „o r(wi)" als Anruf übersetzt, während Faulkner einen Imperativ „go and put in order ... for me" annimmt. Das Wesen *jḫ* des Stockholmer Texte ist bisher nicht belegt. Das Wörterbuch verzeichnet nur *jḫ.t* (WB I 125, 8 f) als Namen einer Göttin. *jḫ.t wr.t* – grosses Wesen als Bezeichnung der Hathor erscheint in CT VI 239 d.

Zur Datierung der Stockholmer Querleiste lässt sich nach einem Vergleich mit Möllers Paläographie (cf. Anmerkungen zur Paläographie am Ende) sagen, dass in mehreren Fällen die grösste Übereinstimmung mit Zeichen der 10./11. Dynastie besteht. Eine Ausnahme bildet das Götterdeterminativ Möller 26, das Schrei-

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bungen aus der 11./12. Dynastie ähnlich ist, und eine Schreibung von Möller 564 (zwei gekreuzte Stäbe). Die 11. Dynastie ist nach diesem Befund als Entstehungszeit wohl am wahrscheinlichsten. Die Stockholmer Texte sind weiterhin paläographisch interessant, weil sie auch Zeichen enthalten, die bei Möller für diese Zeit noch nicht belegt sind oder die von bisher bekannten Schreibungen der 10./11. bzw. der 11./12. Dynastie abweichen, was die Individualität der Schreiber dokumentiert.

1. Zeichen, die mit Möllers Schreibungen der 10./11. Dynastie übereinstimmen:
33 (2×), 284 (3×), 318, 388 (passim), 444, 473, 564 (1×).

2. Zeichen, die mit Möllers Schreibungen der 11./12. Dynastie übereinstimmen:
26 (passim), 564 (1×).

3. Zeichen, die bisher nicht belegt sind:
48 (2×, auch anders als das ähnliche Zeichen 47). 285 (nicht belegt 10./11. Dynastie). 519 (nicht belegt 10./11., auch nicht 11./12. Dynastie). L (nicht belegt 5.–11. Dynastie).

4. Zeichen, die von Möllers Schreibungen der 10./11. Dynastie abweichen:
26, 33 (1×), 122, 132, 253, 336, 379, 395, 540, 564 (1×).

5. Zeichen, die von Möllers Schreibungen der 11./12. Dynastie abweichen:
122, 132, 253, 336, 379, 395, 540, 564 (1×).

Sargtextspruch 912 handelt davon, Zutritt zu einer Stätte der Unterwelt mit Namen *j3dw* zu gewinnen. Diese Lokalität ist auch als 11. Stätte in Totenbuchspruch 149 beschrieben und mitsamt ihrem Gott in einer Vignette abgebildet. Um diesen Ort betreten zu können, macht der Tote eine Reihe positiver Konstatierungen, die seine Berechtigung dazu ausweisen sollen, unterbrochen von negativen Aussagen, die demselben Ziele dienen. Zuerst führt der Tote sein Wissen an: er kennt den Namen des Gottes, der zu der *j3dw*-Stätte gehört, obwohl er geheim ist. Dies ist ein wohlbekanntes Phänomen in der gesamten Totenliteratur und gleichzeitig auch ihr Hauptzweck: Wissen zu vermitteln, damit der Tote erfolgreich die Gefahren der Unterwelt besteht. Kenntnis des Namens speziell verschafft Macht über den Träger dieses Namens. Durch dieses Wissen und diese Macht gewinnt der Tote selbst göttlichen Charakter. So übernimmt er in Spruch 912 selbst die Rolle des Gottes: er weist nun seinerseits die Wege und zählt ihre Hüter und hat Macht über die *j3dw*-Stätte. Hier schliessen sich – auch dies ein wohlbekanntes Phänomen – die negativen Aussagen an nach dem Schema: N hat Macht über X, X hat keine Macht über N. Die *j3dw*-Stätte hat keine Macht über den Toten, seine Schritte werden nicht behindert, er braucht keine Fussfessel zu fürchten. Abweichend ist in beiden Texten der folgende Passus: der Stockholmer Text besagt, dass der Tote dem Stab des Starken keinen Widerstand geleistet habe, während nach dem el Berscheh-Sarg dem Stab der Toten kein Widerstand entgegengesetzt wird. Aus der Stockholmer Variante ergibt sich die Frage, wer mit dem Starken und seinem Stab gemeint sein könnte. Will man hier nicht ein bisher ungenanntes Wesen annehmen, so könnte es sich wieder um den Gott der *j3dw*-Stätte handlen, dem der Tote keinen Widerstand leistet, dem er vielmehr durch sein Wissen gleich ist. Derartige Gottheiten von Unterweltsstätten sind ja manchmal mit langen Stäben oder auch Messern versehen und so in ihrer Aufseher- und Wächterfunktion charakterisiert.

Danach geht der Stockholmer Text wieder zu positiven Aussagen über, die den göttlichen Charakter des Toten noch weiter unterstreichen. So hat er den Uräus verschlungen, was sich täglich zu wiederholen scheint. Auch dies Verschlingen ist ein wohlbekanntes Motiv – in seiner drastischsten Form im Kannibalenspruch der Pyramidentexte (273–4) belegt, der als Spruch 573 auch in die Sargtexte eingegangen ist – dass jemand sich zum Herrn anderer Wesen und selbst von Göttern macht und deren Kräfte sich aneignet, indem er sie sich einverleibt, ein Bestreben, das allem rituellen Kannibalismus zugrunde zu liegen scheint. Durch Einverleibung des Uräus gewinnt der Tote dessen Übel abwehrende, Feinde zerstörende Kräfte. Auch in Sargtextspruch 275 spricht der Tote davon, dass er die Kobra isst. Vom Verschlingen von sogar sieben Uräen ist in den Sprüchen 85–87 und 374 die Rede: der in die *n'w*-Schlange bzw. in Nehebkau, eine Erscheinungsform Atums, verwandelte Tote erhält dadurch Macht über die Götter. In Spruch 612 identifiziert er sich mit Hathor und verschlingt ebenfalls die sieben Uräen.

Im Stockholmer Text folgen noch drei kurze Aussagen: der Tote ist nun Besitzer der *j3dw*-Stätte oder vielleicht der Gott dieser Stätte selbst. Er sorgt für Luft. Hierauf folgt die einzige beschädigte Stelle in Spruch 912. Der Text schliesst mit der Feststellung: ***jnk*** *wsf jb* – ich bin träge an Herz, was an Osiris' Epitheton *wrḏ jb* – Herzensmüder erinnert. Der Sarg von el Berscheh erwähnt hier – leider ist der Kontext zerstört – ***nb*** *j3dw*, den Herrn der *j3dw*-Stätte. Vielleicht darf ***wsf jb*** als Umschreibung dieses Gottes der Stätte angesehen

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werden, und auf eine Gleichsetzung mit ihm liefe der ganze Spruch 912 hinaus.

Sargtextspruch 629 ist nur teilweise auf der Stockholmer Querleiste enthalten und dies noch in anderer Reihenfolge als die zwei Varianten des Sarges aus Siut. Es muss offenbleiben, ob weitere Partien dieses Spruches möglicherweise auf der Innenseite des heute verlorenen Deckels aufgezeichnet waren. Der Spruch hat in seiner vollständigsten Fassung den Titel „Zusammenknüpfen einer Leiter zum Himmel", handelt aber hauptsächlich vom Gau des Anedjti in der Unterwelt. Der Text ist grossenteils in der Form von Fragen und Antworten abgefasst, in denen der Tote nach seinem Namen und seinen Vorhaben in der Unterwelt gefragt wird. Er hat den Weg zu den zwei Gefilden der Dum-Palme eingeschlagen. Er trifft auf einen Stier und teilt mit, dass er diese Felder in Besitz nehmen will; er hat nämlich das Innere des Andjet-Gaues in Ordnung gebracht, ebenso die Messchnur und auch den Sommer für das doppelte Opfergefilde des Osiris, das – hier beginnt der Stockholmer Text – die Herren mit Brot versorgt und aus dem der Tote sich auch ernährt. Hier kommt auf der Querleiste bereits die erste Frage: „Wer bist du?", von den Boten des Stiers der Überschwemmung gestellt. Mit diesem Stier dürfte Osiris gemeint sein, in dessen Gefilde sich der Tote ja befindet und der mithilfe des Überschwemmungswassers für eine Erneuerung der Vegetation und damit für Lebensmittel sorgt. Darauf erfolgt im Stockholmer Text als Antwort: „ich sorge für den Bedarf eines jeden einzelnen von ihnen, ich setze ihre Hüter fest, ich bin einer, der niedertritt". Erst hier an dieser Stelle haben die Varianten die Frage: „wer bist du?"

Auf der Querleiste wird nun die nächste Frage gestellt: „Warum bist du hierher gekommen?" Die Antwort hierauf ist: „um mich in die beiden Opfergefilde des Osiris zu begeben", während die erste Variante des Siuter Sarges hier davon spricht, dass der Tote für den Bedarf eines jeden einzelnen in den Opfergefilden sorge. Auch der weitere Verlauf des Spruches ist unterschiedlich. Der Stockholmer Text hat als dritte Frage wiederum „Wer bist du?", worauf der Tote zum zweitenmal antwortet, dass er für den Frager das Innere des Andjet-Gaues geordnet habe, damit der Frager für ihn die Aruren ordne und für ihn die Landgründung festsetze. Die Siuter Varianten besagen abweichend: „Wer ist es, der für dich das Innere des Andjet-Gaues ordnet, so dass du die Aruren ordnest und die Landgründung festsetzt?" Auch in den zwei folgenden Sätzen ist es nach dem Stockholmer Text der Tote, der etwas für den Frager tut, während es sich in den Parallelen umgekehrt verhält: Stockholm: „Ich öffne für dich die Grenzsteine der Könige. Ich öffne für dich die Höhlen, um hinauszugehen nach Busiris". In den Parallelen wird beides für den Toten getan. Die Texte schliessen mit einer Anrufung an ein Wesen, auf der Querleiste *jḫ*, in der ersten Siuter Variante *rj* genannt, dem der Tote erneut – nun zum drittenmal – versichert, das Innere des Andjet-Gaues in Ordnung gebracht zu haben. Der Rest des Stockholmer Textes ist zu schlecht erhalten, um weitere Schlüsse daraus ziehen zu können. Die Parallelen haben noch ein langes Frage- und Antwortspiel.

Klar ist, dass in diesem Spruch von einem Ackerland im Jenseits die Rede ist, das eine unterirdische Entsprechung des Gaues von Busiris, Andjet, ist. Osiris, der den Beinamen Anedjti haben kann, wird ausdrücklich als Besitzer dieser Gefilde genannt. Seine Boten – Stier der Überschwemmung ist ein weiteres Epitheton des Osiris – nehmen den Toten ins Verhör. Busiris ist ebenfalls erwähnt. Aus diesem Ackerland will sich der Tote mit Lebensmitteln versehen, und – da er vergöttlicht ist – sorgt er auch für den Unterhalt aller anderen Wesen dort. Der Textabschnitt VI 249 f–k ist eine Beschreibung dessen, was unter dem Ordnen des Andjet-Gaues, möglicherweise auch der Gewässer dieses Gaues, im einzelnen zu verstehen ist. Es handelt sich um eine Art von Neugründung des Landes nach der Überschwemmung, die einer Neuschöpfung gleichkommt. Konkret bedeutet dies, dass das Land neu vermessen wird – das Ordnen der Aruren – und dass Grenzsteine zwischen den Feldern errichtet werden. Danach kann, was die Landwirtschaft betrifft, die Aussaat beginnen, die erneuertes und fortbestehendes Leben garantiert. Dies sind gleichzeitig auch religiöse Ereignisse, sind Überschwemmung und Getreidewachstum doch Funktionen des Osiris, die sein Leben durch die Phasen Tod und Auferstehen charakterisieren. So gehören Ackerbauriten auch zu den Osirismysterien, und auf diese Weise sind Jahreszeiten, Landwirtschaft und Götterwelt mit einander verwoben.

Das Ordnen des Andjet-Gaues geht nach dem Stockholmer Text wechselweise von dem Toten bzw. dem Fragesteller aus, der im Auftrage oder als Stellvertreter des Osiris den Toten zur Rede stellt. Vielleicht sind die Varianten des Siuter Sarges hier vorzuziehen, vor allem in VI 249 j, wonach die Höhlen geöffnet sein sollen, um nach Busiris hinauszugehen. Hinauszugehen ist vor allem ein Wunsch des Toten, der hier nach abgeschlossener Arbeit mit der Ordnung des Gaues sich frei bewe-

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gen will. Diese seine Tätigkeiten fasst der Tote in seinem Anruf an *jḫ* nochmals zusammen. Es ist nicht ganz klar, wer mit *jḫ* gemeint ist: es könnte sich auf den bisherigen Fragesteller beziehen oder auch ein direkter Anruf an Osiris sein.

Beide Sargtextsprüche schildern Stätten in einem unterirdischen Jenseits, die auch aus der späteren Sammlung des Totenbuches bekannt sind. Die verborgene Tiefe der nächtlichen Hälfte der Welt wird hier klargelegt. Ohne dieses Wissen um die Verhältnisse in der Unterwelt kann der Tote nämlich die „Nachtmeerfahrt" nicht bestehen. Beide Texte betonen mit Emphase die Bedeutung des Wissens: in Spruch 912 handelt es sich um den Namen und damit das Wesen des Gottes der *j3dw*-Stätte. In Spruch 629 muss der Tote in einem Verhör Rechenschaft über seine Identität und die Motive seines Kommens ablegen. Auch dieses Frage- und Antwortspiel ist ein Mittel, Wissen darzulegen bzw. weiterzugeben. Aufgrund seines Wissens wird der Tote den Göttern der Jenseitsstätten gleich und kann damit ihre Funktionen übernehmen.

Ein anderer Weg zur Vergöttlichung und Erneuerung ist die Identifikation mit Osiris. In Spruch 912 ist kaum mehr als eine Andeutung an den Osiris-Glauben zu finden, für Spruch 629 dagegen ist er eine ausdrückliche Voraussetzung. Im Natur-Aspekt des Osiris als Überschwemmungswasser des Nils und als Vegetation, die beide jedes Jahr von neuem aus der Erde hervorkommen, sieht der Ägypter ein Gleichnis für die eigene zyklische Regeneration. Beides – das Wissen um die Unterwelt und die Identifikation mit Osiris – weisen auf dasselbe Ziel hin: nämlich dem Menschen sein wahres Wesen als Teilhabe am Ganzen, an beiden komplementären Seiten der Welt in ihrem ständigen Wechsel und der ständigen Wiederkehr der Polaritäten wie Tag und Nacht, Leben und Tod bewusst zu machen. Nichts steht endgültig still, alles befindet sich in ewiger kreisender Bewegung.

1. Die Querleiste eines Sargdeckels MM 19280.
2. MM 19280: oben Sargtextspruch 912, Zeile 1–4; unten Sargtextspruch 629, Zeile 1–6. Die 5 Löcher dienten zur Befestigung im Deckel (A–B) bzw. zur Verschliessung des Sarges (C–E).

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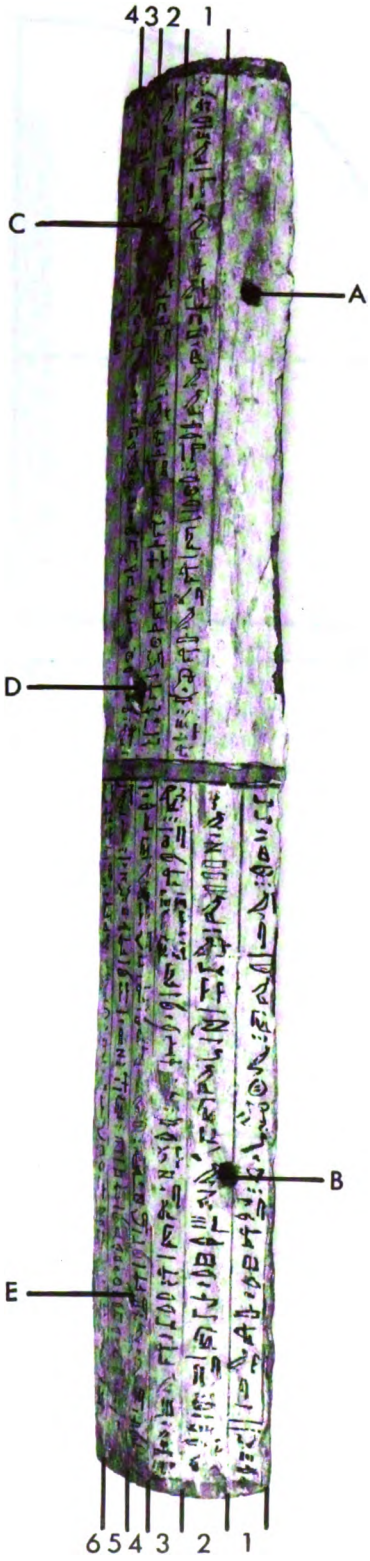

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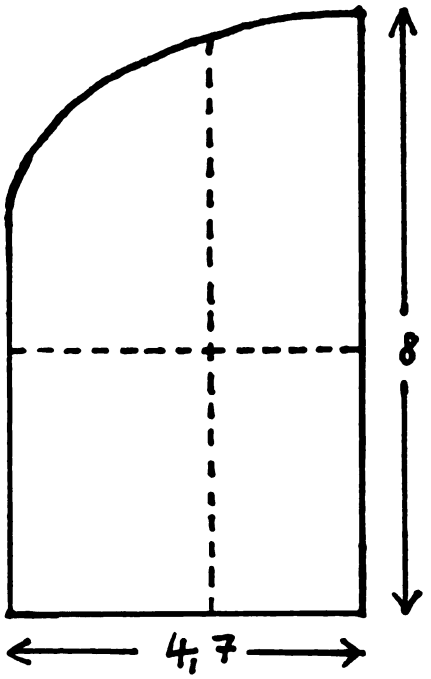
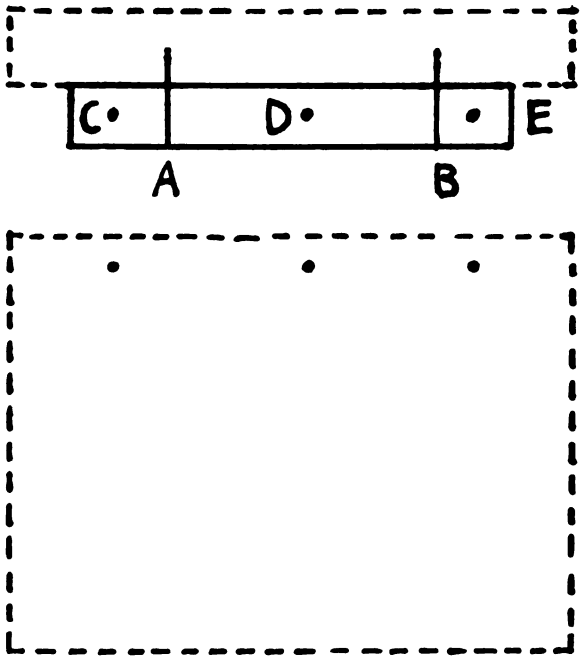


3. Schematisches Profil der Querleiste MM 19280 im Masstab 1:1: grösste Höhe 8 cm, grösste Dicke 4,7 cm; in der Senkrechten die Durchbohrungen A und B, in der Waagerechten C-E.



4. Querschnitt durch einen Sarg von innen gesehen, unter dessen Deckel mit zwei Dübeln (Löcher A und B) eine Querleiste vom Typ MM 19280 (Masstab 1:10) befestigt ist. Die drei Löcher in der Sargwand und ihre Entsprechungen in der Leiste (C-E) dienen zur Verschliessung des Sarges mit Pflökken. Cf. J. Garstang, The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt, London 1907, 164 ff; G. Lapp. Särge des mittleren Reiches aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Khashaba, Wiesbaden 1985, 3 und Tafel 2; H. Schäfer, Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des alten Reiches bis zur griechischen Zeit vom Totentempel des Ne-User-Rê, Leipzig 1908, 46 f.

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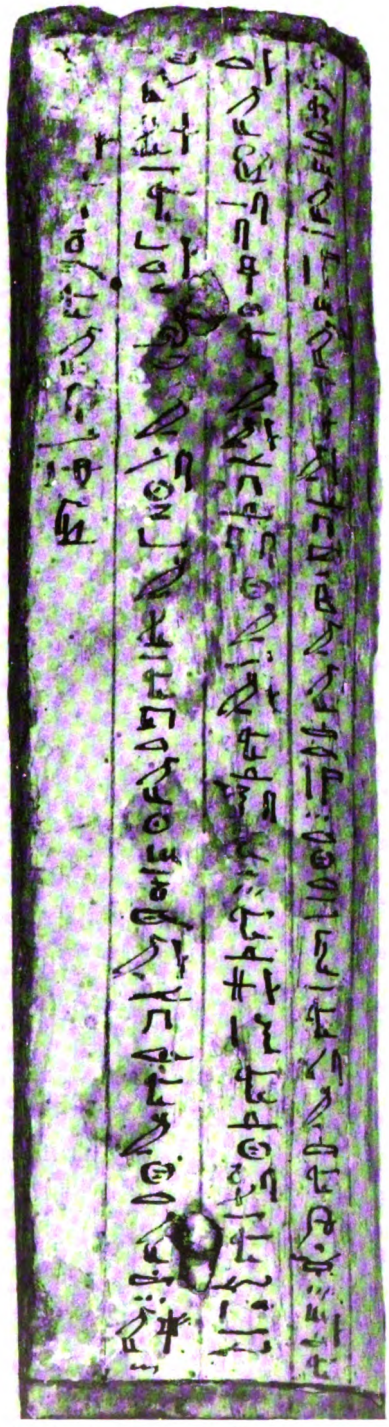

5. MM 19280, Sargtextspruch 912.

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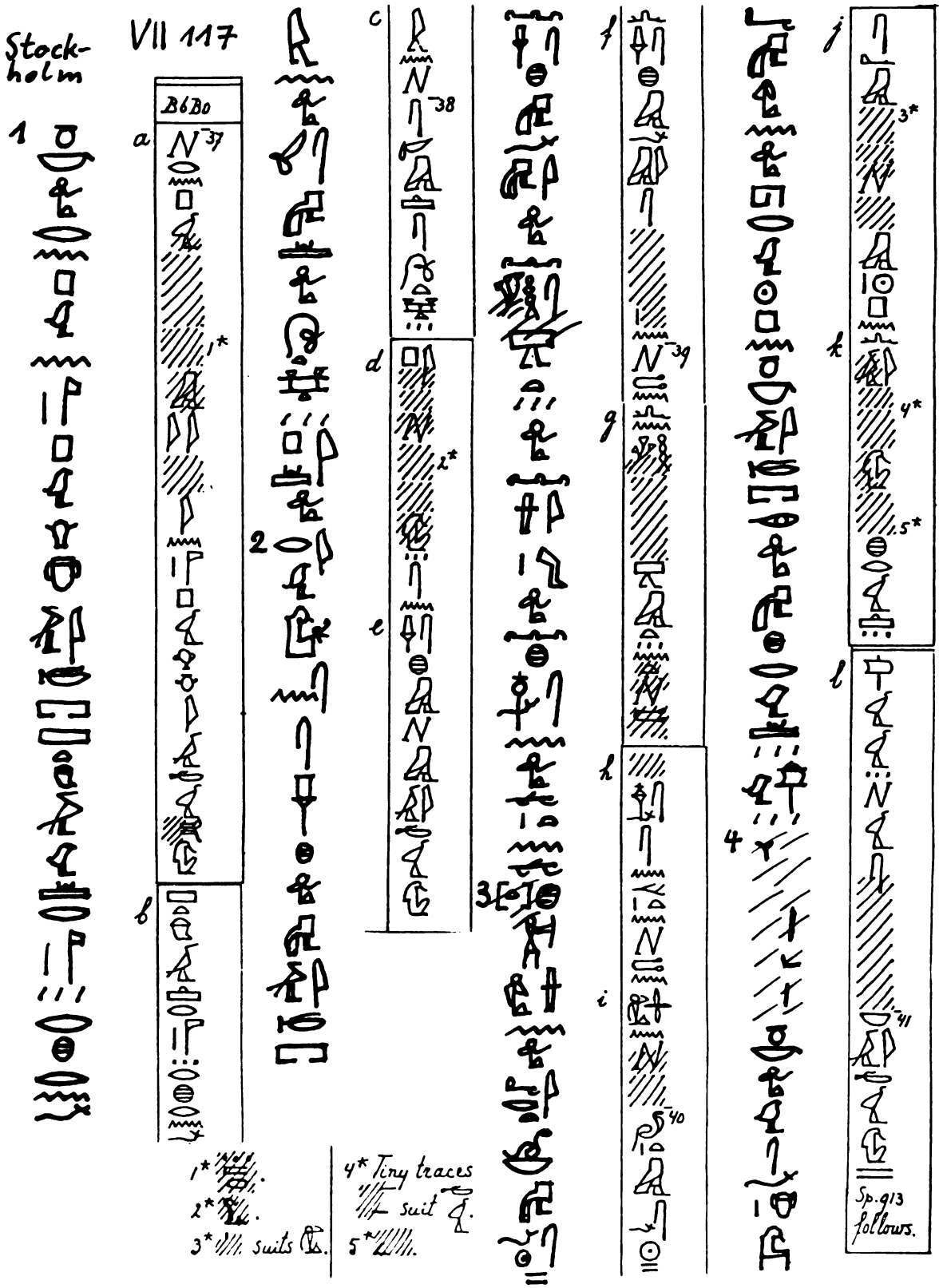

6. Sargtextspruch 912 in hieroglyphischer Transkription nach MM 19280 und de Buck.

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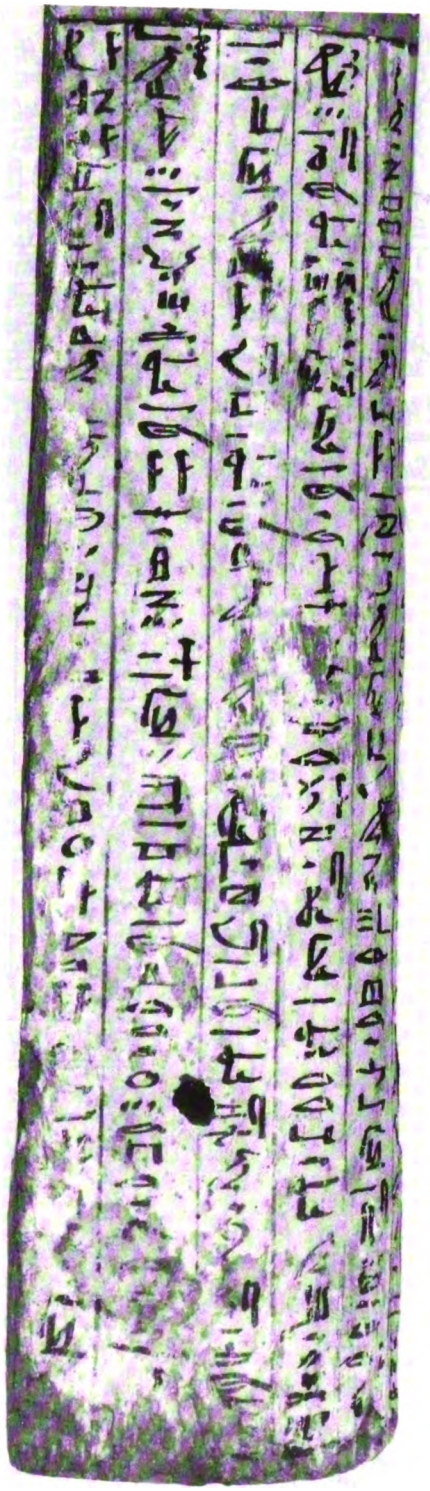
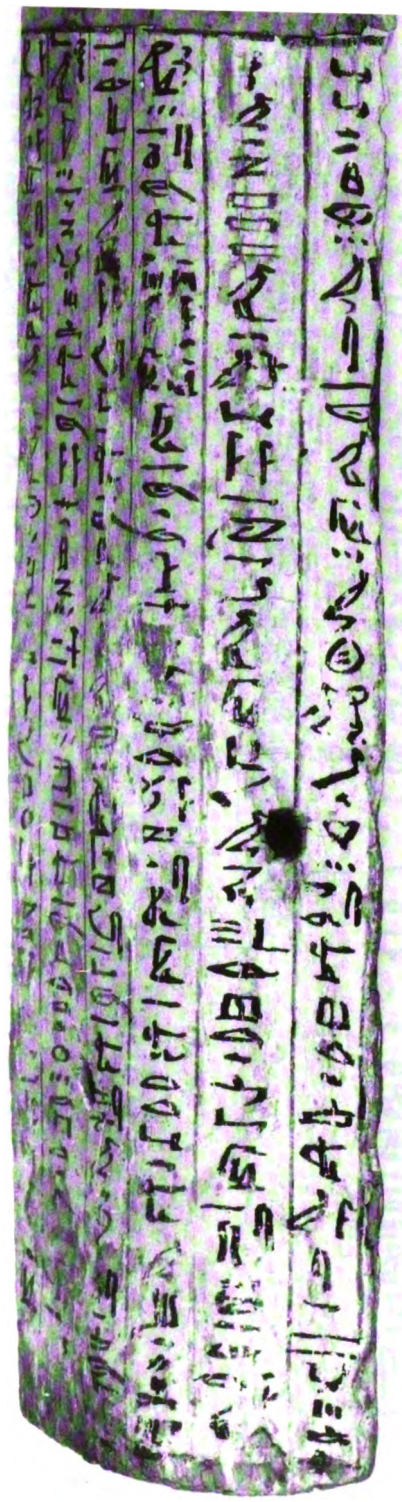


7. MM 19280, Sargtextspruch 629.



8. MM 19280, Sargtextspruch 629.

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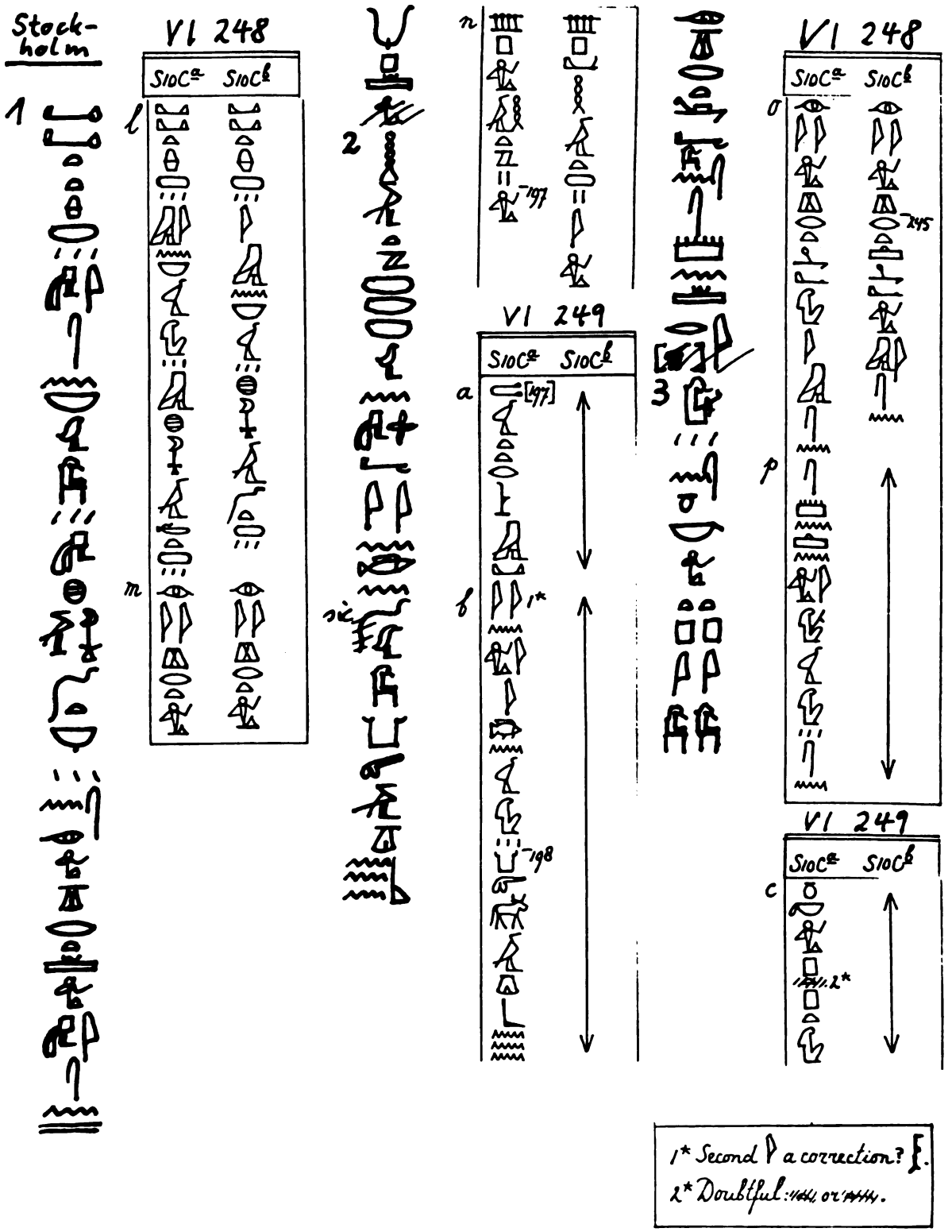

9. Sargtextspruch 629 in hieroglyphischer Transkription nach MM 19280 und de Buck.

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10. Sargtextspruch 629 in hieroglyphischer Transkription nach MM 19280 und de Buck.

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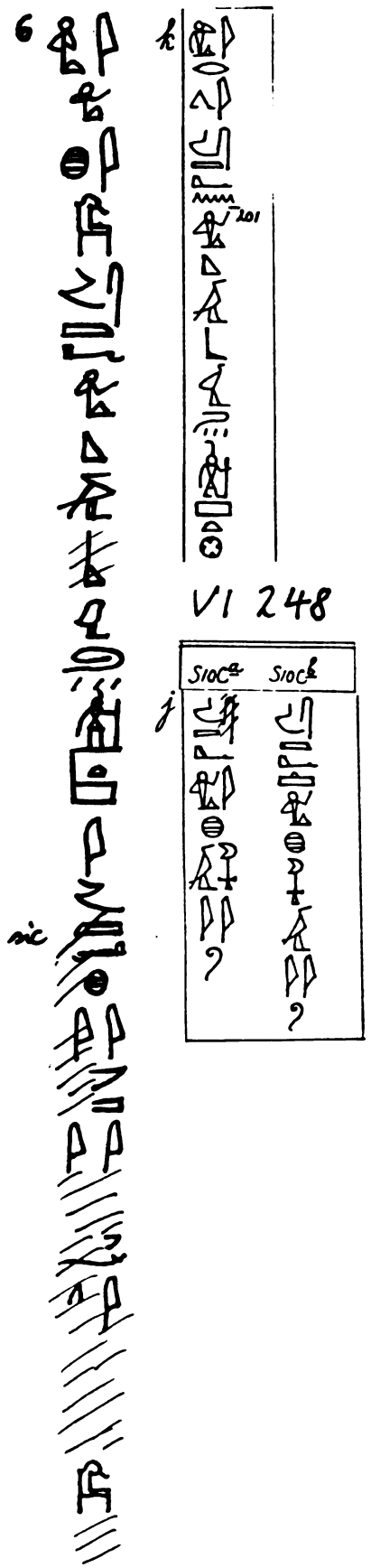

11. Sargtextspruch 629 in hieroglyphischer Transkription nach MM 19280 und de Buck.

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G. Möller, Hieratische Paläographie I, Leipzig 1909

Hieroglyphen	Abusir Dyn. 5	Elephantine Dyn. 6	Hatnub Dyn. 10/11	Prisse Dyn. 11/12	Stockholm MM 19280
26.					1. Sp. 912, Z. 4 letztes Zeichen 2. Sp. 629, Z. 1 oben 3. Sp. 629, Z. 2 Mitte 4. Sp. 629, Z. 3 oben 5. Sp. 629, Z. 4 oben 6. Sp. 629, Z. 5 Mitte 7. Sp. 629, Z. 6 oben 8. Sp. 629, Z. 6 letztes Zeichen
38.					1. Sp. 912, Z. 1 oben 2. Sp. 629, Z. 6 oben passim, z.B. Sp. 912, Z. 1 dreimal, Z. 3 dreimal, Z. 4
					Sp. 629, Z. 1 letztes Zeichen (unleserlich)
48.					1. Sp. 912, Z. 2 oben 2. Sp. 629, Z. 3 oben
95.					Sp. 629, Z. 2 Mitte
122.					Sp. 912, Z. 2 unten
132.					Sp. 629, Z. 5 Mitte

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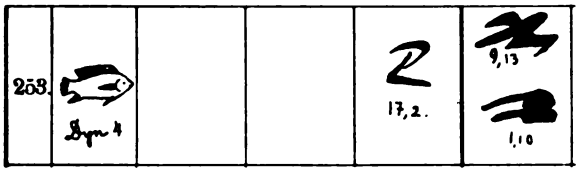
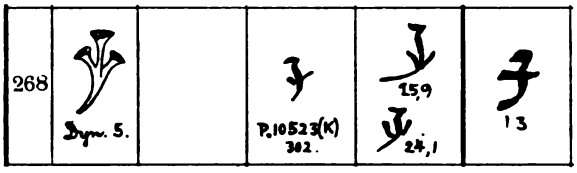
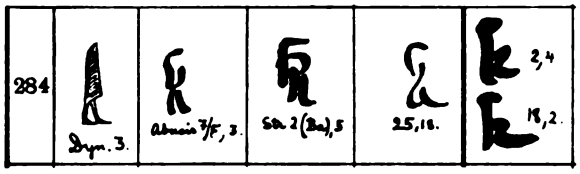


Sp. 629, Z. 2 oben



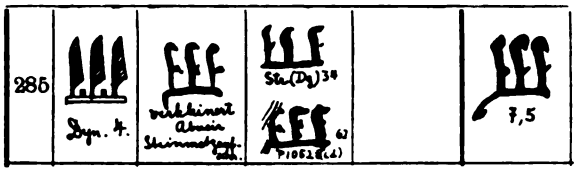
Sp. 912, Z. 2 Mitte



1. Sp. 912, Z. 1 unten

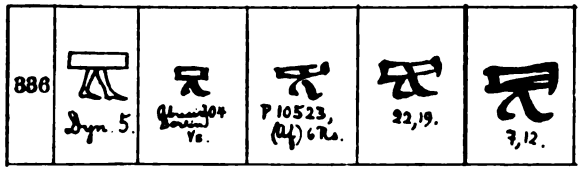
2. Sp. 629, Z. 3 oben

3. Sp. 629, Z. 3 unten

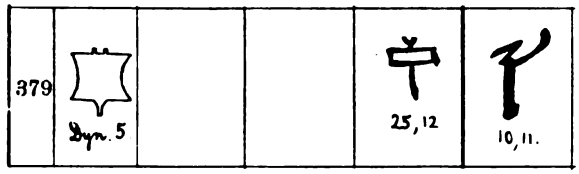


Sp. 629, Z. 3 unten

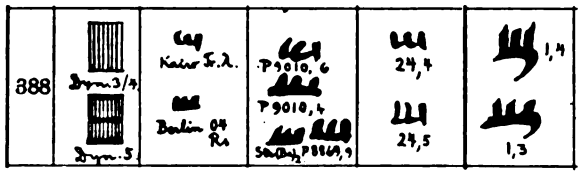
Sp. 629, Z. 5 oben



Sp. 912, Z. 2 Mitte (schlecht erhalten)



Sp. 912, Z. 3 unten



1.–2- Sp. 912, Z. 1 oben zweimal
3. Sp. 912, Z. 1 unten
4. Sp. 629, Z. 1 unten
5.–6. Sp. 629, Z. 3 oben zweimal
7. Sp. 629, Z. 3 unten (schlecht erhalten)
8. Sp. 629, Z. 5 oben

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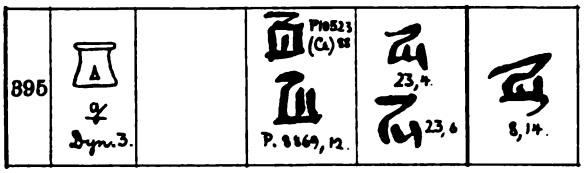
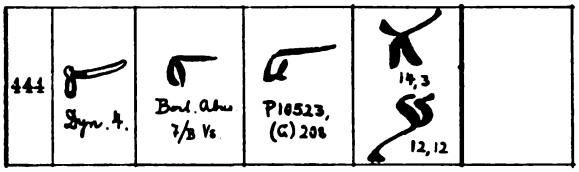


Sp. 629, Z. 2 Mitte



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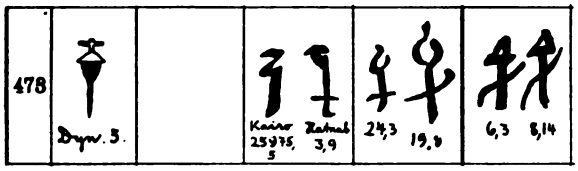
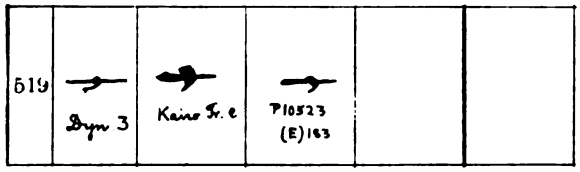
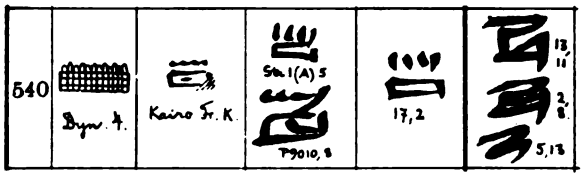


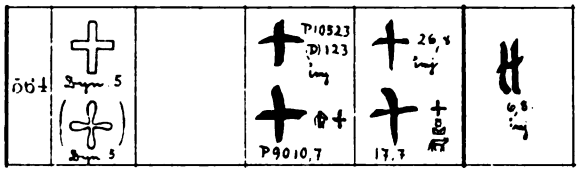
Sp. 912, Z. 2 unten



Sp. 629, Z. 4 unten



1. Sp. 629, Z. 2 unten
2. Sp. 629, Z. 4 unten (schlecht erhalten)

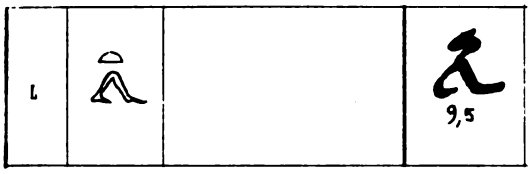


1. Sp. 912, Z. 2 unten

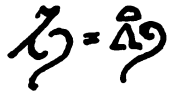
2. Sp. 912, Z. 3 oben

3. Sp. 629, Z. 2 oben

Dyn. 5–11



Sp. 629, Z. 4 unten



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Ramesses II and his Follower

Two Relief Fragments from Sakkara

Bengt Peterson

Against the traditional view of art historians that the sunk relief of the Ramesside period represents a decadence, C. Vandersleyen has objected. In a lecture in Paris in 1979 he emphasized its great use and possibility as a medium for, indeed, very modulated expressions, especially when used in variating degrees of depth.[1] The optimal use of the relief *en creux* is observed during the long reign of Ramesses II; the temple reliefs are the foremost representatives of this feature but gradually we are now also learning to know more and more of the privately ordered tomb art of Sakkara displaying an extensive use of this type of relief of highest quality.

The Medelhavsmuseet possesses two relief fragments, both of them presumably from the same original context. They were acquired in 1931 by the Stockholm Egyptian Museum's first director Pehr Lugn directly from the Egyptian Antiquities Service, more exactly from their reserves at Sakkara. No detailed information as to their provenience but Sakkara was given. Both of them are limestone sunk reliefs with light colours preserved.

The first of them, MM 11416, is a portrait of a king, 33.5 × 28 cms, thickness 10.8 cms.[2] His face, turned to the left, shows firm contours. The nose is slightly acquiline, the ear is pierced, the neck has two folds. The king wears the war helmet with cobra and flying tails. He also has a neck-collar and carries a sceptre, the shepherd's crook. Above him a falcon is soaring holding a symbol of eternity, the *šn*-sign. Two hieroglyphs at the left belong to an epitheton of the king including the mention of the sungod Re as a life-giving quality. At the top there is a horizontal line, the bottom of a register containing vertical lines of hieroglyphs. One column, at the left, ended with the *m*-sign, an owl. Colours are partly preserved: the face is red, so are the tails of the crown and the falcon; further there are traces of blue in the *ankh*-sign.

The second relief fragment, MM 11417, 33.2 × 17 cms., thickness 16.7 cms., shows the face of a man turned to the right. One can observe standard tricks of the period as the deep cutting of the fore-head, the long sloping nose line – reminiscent of that of the king – and the two folds on the neck. The right hand is raised in adoration – one is reminded of the very sensitive Amarna hands but this one has lost almost everything of individual expression, now just being a standard

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Above, MM 11416, to the left MM 11417.

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feature of persons approaching a god or a king. In front of the man there is a sign of rank which he has held in his left hand, it is the fan. The man has a shaven head, which in a way may signify that he is appearing in a priestly rôle, and wears a neck-collar. The face, the body, including the hand, are painted in red.

Both reliefs are cleverly cut using various degrees of depth of the sunk relief, thus producing a very sensitive play of effects, especially in different lighting situations. Both of them are high quality products nevertheless showing manners of the period like the mechanical repetition of details and standard features of line cutting.

As to the identity of the king we are supported by inscribed reliefs from the same location. One of the best parallels to the face is a relief in the Cairo Museum coming from the Memphite temple area.[3] This is Ramesses II. Although there is inherent a strong tradition from the portraits of his father Sethos I – cf. for Sakkara e.g. the Louvre stela C 213 where all the technical features already appear[4] – the younger king's characteristic face is apparent. There is no doubt, however, that the Lower Egyptian portrait tradition of Sethos I was the prototype for representations of Ramesses II[5] as also the Abydos Sethos I type was of importance for another Ramesses tradition – cf. e.g. the idealized features of a less well known relief in the Louvre, AE/B 13[6]. Another striking parallel is a fragment in a Swiss private collection, assigned to Ramesses II and Memphis by H. W. Müller.[7] Even if a temple provenience is not unlikely for reliefs of this type, one asks if there may be other possibilities. The private man of one of the Stockholm fragments is in any case not very natural, in his size, in a Memphite temple. Could another context be found?

Strolling in the Sakkara desert in early 1983 Dr. Beate George and the author were on their way to visit the newly excavated tomb of Tia and Tia.[8] When Geoffrey T. Martin and his colleagues showed the recently uncovered reliefs it was immediately apparent that this was a likely context for the Stockholm fragments. But Tia and Tia, those relatives of Ramesses II, and their tomb are only one example of important finds at Sakkara. The true face of the New Kingdom Memphite tomb art is gradually appearing. K. A. Kitchen has recently emphasized the importance of surveying the material[9], not only *in situ* but also spread in museums all over the world since the early 19th century, and G. T. Martin is on his way compiling a corpus of the Memphite tomb reliefs.[10] In the tomb of Tia and Tia one can observe figures of the same size as the Stockholm ones, see the same technique, the same cutting and colours. The Antiquities Service has long ago taken care of loose fragments certainly just lying on the desert surface and brought them to the reserves from where they in the 1930's sold them. The upper parts of tomb walls are mostly missing, like in the Haremhab tomb, like in the Tia and Tia one. Some upper fragments were removed already in the 19th century when many of these New Kingdom tombs were known by the early archaeologists but later these were covered by sand again. It is not unlikely that the Stockholm fragments once can find their original place among these tombs. We must just wait for further research and publications of the new material.

[1] C. Vandersleyen, De l'usage du relief dans le creux à l'époque ramesside, *BSFE* 86, 1979, 16 ff.

[2] B. Peterson, in *Medelhavsmuseet. En introduktion*, Stockholm 1982, 58–59; B. George, in *Archéologia* 198. Paris 1985, 24.

[3] B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935–1940), III, *FIFAO* XX, Cairo 1952, 63; further bibliography see Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, III, 862: but add also A. Malraux, *Le musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale*, Paris 1954, pl. 49.

[4] Ch. Boreux, *La sculpture égyptienne au Musée du Louvre*, Paris s.d., pl. XXXIV.

[5] K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du nouvel empire*, Warszawa 1976, 104.

[6] In *Naissance de l'écriture*, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris 1982, Nr. 211.

[7] In *Antike Kunstwerke, Nachlass Dr. Jacob Hirsch II. Teil und anderer Besitz*, Ars Antiqua AG Luzern 1959, Nr. 6. The presumed Abydos provenience in the catalogue *Geschenk des Nils*, Basel 1978, Nr. 211, is less probable. Müller's proposal "Memphis" may include Sakkara.

[8] G. T. Martin, The Tomb of Tia and Tia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqâra Excavations, 1982, *JEA* 69, 1983, 25 ff; idem, The Tomb of Tia and Tia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqâra Excavations, 1983, *JEA* 70, 1984, 5 ff.

[9] K. A. Kitchen, Memphite Tomb-Chapels in the New Kingdom and later, in *Festschrift Elmar Edel, 12. März 1979*, Bamberg 1979, 272 ff.

[10] G. T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*, forthcoming.

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Egyptian Symbols of Love

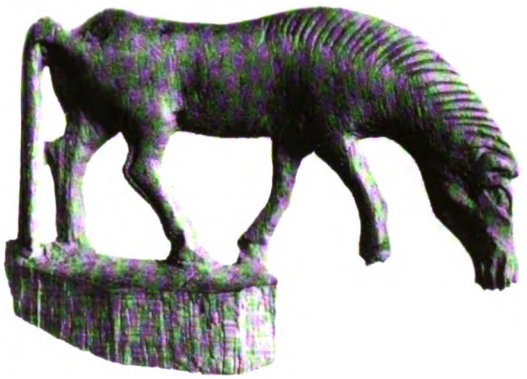
Bengt Peterson

Love is just one of those things, of those always recurring as a febrile pulse in the life of man and woman. Passionate longing for one's beloved is often expressed in the love poems of the Egyptian New Kingdom. These poems were refined literary creations but nevertheless spread among high and low. It is significant that one of the finest collections of love poems was inscribed on a large pottery vase; three fragments were in the Cairo Museum already in 1897, another twentyeight were found in Deir el Medineh in 1949–1951 thus returning to us a treasure after threethousand years, having once been read and recited in that very cradle of busy everyday life of workmen and artists.

The literary expressions of love find their counterparts in objects of decorative art, personal belongings used in the intimate sphere of the house, foremost by the women and often accompanying them into the happy life after death, resting at their side in the tomb. Objects as combs or cosmetic spoons – things used to enhance the erotic attractiveness – often have decorations in the mood of literary expressions of love. The connection between literature and art – and especially the minor arts – has never been fully explored. In the actual case I would like to mention Alfred Hermann's article from 1957 pointing out the relationship between illustrations on chests used for papyri and the contents of i.a. the love poems.[1] A wider circle could be drawn, encircling many products of minor arts as fayence bowls, hairpins, spoons, combs, all objects expecially surrounding woman. The personal erotic meaning of these objects may also be transferred to their use in other spheres, e.g. the perhaps most proper use of the large decorated cosmetic spoons in the cult as personal votive offerings.[2] How close connections between literature and art exist could perhaps be demonstrated by two objects in the Medelhavsmuseet.

One of them is a fragment of a wooden comb decorated with a feeding horse. There are parallels; combs decorated with animals occur already in the predynastic period. But only some products of the New Kingdom show the same sensitivity in the modelling. The width of the fragment is 5.5 cm, and its height is 3.9 cm. The thickness is c. 0.5 cm. These measurements correspond well to those of the comb parallels. The horse is modelled from both sides but one of them is better: the one with the horse turned right. The provenience is not known; the piece belongs to the Ernest Erickson Col-

Ernest Erickson Collection. Fragment of wooden comb.



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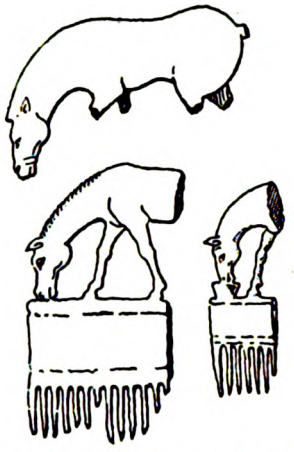

Fragments of wooden combs from Deir el Medineh, (after Bruyère).

lection and has since 1961 been on loan to the National Museum, since 1982 to the Medelhavsmuseet.[3]

Similar pieces were found by B. Bruyère in Deir el Medineh; three examples are illustrated in the 1948–1951 excavation report, all of them depicting a feeding horse, one of them feeding from a trough.[4] They are of Ramesside date and were paralleled by other combs decorated with bulls or ibexes.[5] Of the time of Ramesses II is another horse comb found by W. Fl. Petrie in Gurob.[6]

The horse was a fairly new feature in Egypt of the New Kingdom. Its use was above all in war: horse and chariot meant military pomp and power, also when used in desert hunting or parading. For artists the horse was a new iconographic challenge; there are excellent and wonderful horses in Theban tomb paintings, in Amarna reliefs, and, above all, in the huge battle reliefs of the Ramesside temples all over Egypt. From Deir el Medineh we know an artist's trial piece on a limestone sherd[7]; a very sensitive drawing of a horse crouching like the ibexes we sometimes find on combs. The motif of the feeding horse as on the combs is also easy to find in the monumental art, e.g. in the camp scenes of the Kadesh battle reliefs.[8]

If we take a look at the love poems we can easily find the importance of the horse as a symbol of the beloved one. I would like to cite from Miriam Lichtheim's fine translations[9]:

On the way I met Mehy on his chariot,
With him were his young men.
I knew not how to avoid him:
Should I stride on to pass him?
(Pap. Chester Beatty I)

This is the encounter, the man on his chariot, horse-drawn; below the girl in agitation. Another example shows the girl in passionate longing; horses and chariot could bring the lover to her side:

All stables are held ready for him,
He has horses at the stations,
The chariot is harnessed in its place,
He may not pause on the road.
(Pap. Chester Beatty I)

But the beloved himself could also be likened to a horse:

O that you came to <your sister swiftly>!
Like a horse of the king;
Picked from a thousand steeds of all kinds,
The choicest of stables.
It is singled out in its feed,
Its master knows its paces;
When it hears the sound of the whip,
There's no holding it back.
There's no chief of charioteers
Who could overtake it.
Sister's heart is aware:
He is not far from her!
(Pap. Chester Beatty I)

Ostracon with horse from Deir el Medineh (after Vandier-d'Abbadie).

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This is the genre telling of the lover as a horse – there are also examples of him as a gazelle (cf. the ibexes on certain combs) – and these are expressions which may be connected with motives in the minor arts; a chariot scene on a fayence plaque in New York, presumably an inlay on a papyrus chest, has been noted by Hermann: *Das Motiv des herrschaftlich dahinsprengenden Wagenfahrers, ..., ist in der Lyrik als Bild der Eile des zur Geliebten jagenden Liebenden gebraucht.*

The lore of the pastoral and hunting life in the marshes is primarily a Lower Egyptian feature. The late antique Greek romance of Chariklea by Heliodor begins fascinatingly in this very setting in the papyrus and lotus swamps of the Delta. But this literary landscape is then already an antique tradition. It is significant to observe how the pastoral milieu – remember e.g. Theban interconnections with grazing grounds in the North – is mirrored in the vision of the ideal landscape of "desert" cities like Thebes and Amarna where the royal palaces abound in decorations picturing the wild life of the marshes – not to speak of Amenophis III's artificial lake at Malkata or the garden ponds of private persons even transferred into the realm of the dead in the form of lakes integrated in the funeral architecture like that of Amenhotep, son of Hapu.

This setting is often used as the background of the main figure on the elaborately sculptured cosmetic spoons, mostly of New Kingdom date. The handle is sometimes in the shape of a female musician on a raft, a girl picking papyrus or lotus or a tambourine player among flowers, all of them perhaps also singing the melodies of love on the lips of everybody.

A large fragment of a spoon in the Medelhavsmuseet, never before published, shows a woman among lotus flowers holding a small bird, a duck or a wild goose in front of her. The wooden spoon, height 14.5 cm, width 5,9 cm, is shaped as a hieroglyph: the life-sign *ankh* is hidden in the design. The ovoid spoon bowl is like the fruit of a persea. Around the rim there is a zigzag pattern, a rather common feature. The bowl had no cover which is sometimes the case. The joining lotus flowers and the bowl constitute the upper part of the *ankh*-sign. Between further upward-pointing lotus flowers a woman is standing with a bird in her hand, a duck or a goose. She wears a long tripartite wig crowned by an ointment cone. There is a fillet decorated with a lotus pattern around her head and another one in the five hanging locks at the side. Clearly visible is a round earring, partly hidden under the wig. Further the woman is adorned by a composite neck collar. There are

Medelhavsmuseet. Fragment of wooden spoon, NME 862.

traces of blue-green colour in the lotus decoration and in the border of the bowl rim. The wig is clearly black. The provenience of the fragment is not known; it has been in the National Museum since the 19th century and was transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet in 1982.[10]

The girl with the bird may be associated to the genre of the love poems as well. Like the horse, the duck or wild goose could be a symbol of the beloved one. There are many allusions to birds in the love poetry, above all in the Papyrus Harris 500, kept in the British Museum. In its second collection the girl comes from the fields; she has caught birds with her nets:

The voice of the wild goose shrills.
It is caught by its bait;
My love of you pervades me
I cannot loosen it.
(Pap. Harris 500)

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NME 862. Detail.

Another song parallels this bird catching:
The wild goose soars and swoops,
It alights on the net;
Many birds swarm about
I have work to do.
I am held fast by my love,
Alone my heart meets your heart,
From your beauty I'll not part.
(Pap. Harris 500)

Even the boy speaks in one song, describing the beauty of the girl. This time I am quoting from the translation of W. Kelly Simpson[11]:

Distracting is the foliage of my pasture:
<the mouth> of my girl is a lotus bud,
her breasts are mandrake apples,
her arms are <vines>,
<her eyes> are fixed like berries,
her brow a snare of willow,
and I the wild goose!
My <beak> snips <her hair> for bait,
as worms for bait in the trap.
(Pap. Harris 500)

This rural mood – reminiscent, by the way, of many poems in the Shi King, the Book of Odes of ancient China – is very pregnantly brought to mind by the products of the minor arts and very much so by the handles of the cosmetic spoons. There are no exact parallels to this Stockholm example; Ingrid Wallert mentions one fragment in a private collection, today of unknown location which may have been of interest[12]; otherwise it is important to note a charming example in the Louvre showing a girl returning from the marshes with flowers and ducks.[13] But we must also think of the spoons in the shape of a swimming girl holding a duck. This type could also bring the literary allusions to the owner. One may further find ointment containers with a relief showing similar scenes: the swimming girl catching a duck in the swamp.[14] A little bit of similar moods could also be found in the decorations of fayence bowls; Hermann has pointed out the lute player and one may find marsh details on them – also cosmetic spoons

Theban tomb of Nakht. Detail, (after Lhote).

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display the female lute player. Just to finish I would like to emphasize a fine parallel to the Stockholm scene in a Theban tomb painting. It is the detail of a girl in the tomb of Nakht, scribe and astronomer of Amun. In the famous hunting scene of the late 15th century BC in this little tomb the girl follows her father on the papyrus raft.[15] The Delta setting in the tomb of this Theban based family is there to remind of pleasant hunting, fishing and fowling days but may also have another connotation behind this surface. As many other everyday life scenes in the tombs it may have a magical meaning as a regeneration symbol with its roots in royal rituals of olden days.[16] And this leads us at last to point out what especially Erik Hornung has emphasized[17] that perhaps all the *objets de toilette*, combs and spoons, mirrors and so on finally have been thought of as symbols of regeneration and thus have a very special implication used in the cult or in the tombs. But we must, however, never forget that their everyday use may have been the primary function and that the Egyptian classification of the objects does not always conform to our own suppositions; the Egyptian spectrum of the use of an object has been much wider, usually, than our own limited classifications.

[1] A. Hermann, Buchillustrationen auf ägyptischen Bücherkästen, *MDAIK* 15, 1957, 112 ff.

[2] I. Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel, seine Formgeschichte und Verwendung im alten Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1967, 49 ff.

[3] It was exhibited in 1961: *5000 år egyptisk konst*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 1961, Nr. 141. For the Ernest Erickson Collection see now: *The Collector's Eye. The Ernest Erickson Collections at the Brooklyn Museum*, Brooklyn 1987.

[4] B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (années 1948 à 1951)*, FIFAO 26, Le Caire 1953, 65 f.

[5] Cf. especially the ibex comb Louvre N. 1359, latest publication in *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 BC*, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Boston 1982, Nr. 230.

[6] W. M. Fl. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob. 1889–90*, London 1891, Pl. XVIII, Nr. 46.

[7] J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh*, 1er fasc., Documents de fouilles II, 1, Le Caire 1936, Pl. XIX, 2157.

[8] E.g. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas der altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II, Leipzig s.a., Pl. 92–92 a.

[9] M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, A Book of Readings*, Volume II: The New Kingdom, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976, 179 ff.

[10] The fragment has got the inventory nr. NME 862 in the later half of the 19th century. The register tells nothing of the provenience but states that it was since old kept in the National Museum (founded in 1866). On the spoon there is also a second, presumably older nr. 148. I have an idea that this number may be associated with the Anastasi collection, part of which was sent to Stockholm in 1826 as a gift, but I have not studied this aspect.

[11] W. Kelly Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, New edition, New Haven 1973, 299.

[12] I. Wallert, *op.cit.*, 30.

[13] J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens*, Paris 1972, Nr. 27.

[14] I. Wallert, *op.cit.*, Pl. 35, B 24.

[15] See especially A. Lhote, *Les chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture égyptienne*, Paris 1954, Pl. 56.

[16] The recent article, D. Kessler, Zur Bedeutung der Szenen des täglichen Lebens in den Privatgräbern (I), *ZÄS* 114, 1987, 59 ff. is an important contribution to the understanding of these aspects.

[17] E. Hornung-E. Staehlin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Mainz 1976, 140 f.

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Vases in the Shape of Hedgehogs – Mycenaean and Later

Eva Rystedt

The attractive vase in the shape of a hedgehog which bears the inventory number MM 1963:3 (Fig. 1) was acquired by the late King Gustaf VI Adolf for the benefit of the Medelhavsmuseet. In the inventory book of 1963, it is preceded and followed by Italic pottery vases. Whether it was bought along with these or not, we do not know. In any case, it is likely that the association brought about the current identification of the object as Italic.[1]

In Italy, however, this very distinctive ceramic shape has no representatives derived from excavated material. On the other hand, such representatives occur in the eastern Mediterranean area. Here, among a variety of animal-shaped vases from the Late Bronze Age, we find vessels in the shape of hedgehogs which show a more or less close resemblance to our vase. They are definable as Mycenaean products (whether made by genuine Mycenaeans or not).

Scholars have lately approached the Mycenaean hedgehog vases from a variety of angles: the zoological one (hedgehogs in antiquity: Buchholz), the formal and stylistic one (theriomorphic vases as a ceramic category: Karageorghis and Miller), and the cultic one (theriomorphic vases as cult implements: Yon).[2] Fifteen specimens have been assembled in these studies.[3] They come from three main areas: the Greek mainland, Syria-Palestine and Cyprus. The small number very probably reflects a restricted use. What exactly this use was is hardly possible to tell from the information available from the find places. That it was at least partly connected with ceremonies which required special equipment is, however, suggested by the finding of a hedgehog vase together with several conical rhyta at Ras Shamra in Syria[4] and by the possibly similar association of hedgehog vase and conical rhyton at the sanctuary site of Myrtou-Pighades in Cyprus.[5]

The fifteen vases form a remarkably heterogeneous group. Fabric apart, form and painted decoration vary to such a degree that the prospects for a typology in which all would be linked serially seem dubious.[6]

A rough division of the material according to form may, however, serve as a working tool. We thereby obtain two groups, one – roughly consistent – of eleven items and the other – anything but consistent – comprising the remaining four. The general characteristics of the first group are as follows: ovoid, horizontally extending body on four short legs; hedgehog face showing modelled details; short, cylindrical spout set on the back; short handle joining mouth of spout and body (Fig. 2).[7] The second group includes two vessels (Figs. 4–5) which have more or less recurved bodies and are provided with funnel-shaped openings instead of cylindrical spouts. Apart from these traits, they do not, however, have much in common. The remaining two vessels (Fig. 3) form more of a pair. They display less elongated bodies than the rest, more elongated snouts, slightly raised openings on the backs, and handles which rise above the level of the openings. Moreover, they are very much smaller than the other vases, being veritable miniatures.

As for the painted decoration, it will be noticed that hardly any two hedeghog vases bear the same design; the only example is supplied by the two miniature vases. Running spirals, simple scale pattern, scale pattern with dots, tricurved arcs, octopus, transverse, wavy lines, short strokes in tiers, etc. give an idea of the rich flora of patterns. The majority are well known from other kinds of Mycenaean pottery, a few seem to be connected rather more with the actual appearance of the spiny fell of hedgehogs.

The diversity of fabric, less apparent from black-and-white photographs, is nonetheless considerable, to

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Fig. 1. Hedgehog vase in the Medelhavsmuseet, MM 1963:3. Drawing by G. Eriksson-Anselm.

judge from the descriptions given. To some extent at least, it very likely reflects the existence of separate workshops, probably also distinct clay sources. So far, however, no hedgehog vase has been included in the modern clay analyses made of Mycenaean pottery.[8]

Up to this point, I have evaded a definition of the general shape of the vases according to the categories of askoi and rhyta. These terms are often encountered in descriptions of the hedgehog vases in publications and elsewhere. It is thereby not always clear, for one thing, whether a distinction is being actually made in the use of the terms. More problematic still is the fact that the descriptions given quite often do not leave material enough for the reader to choose for himself the most proper term in the individual case. In other words, the descriptions do not always contain information as to the existence or not of a second orifice, in the form of a hole bored through the mouth of the hedgehog. Thus,

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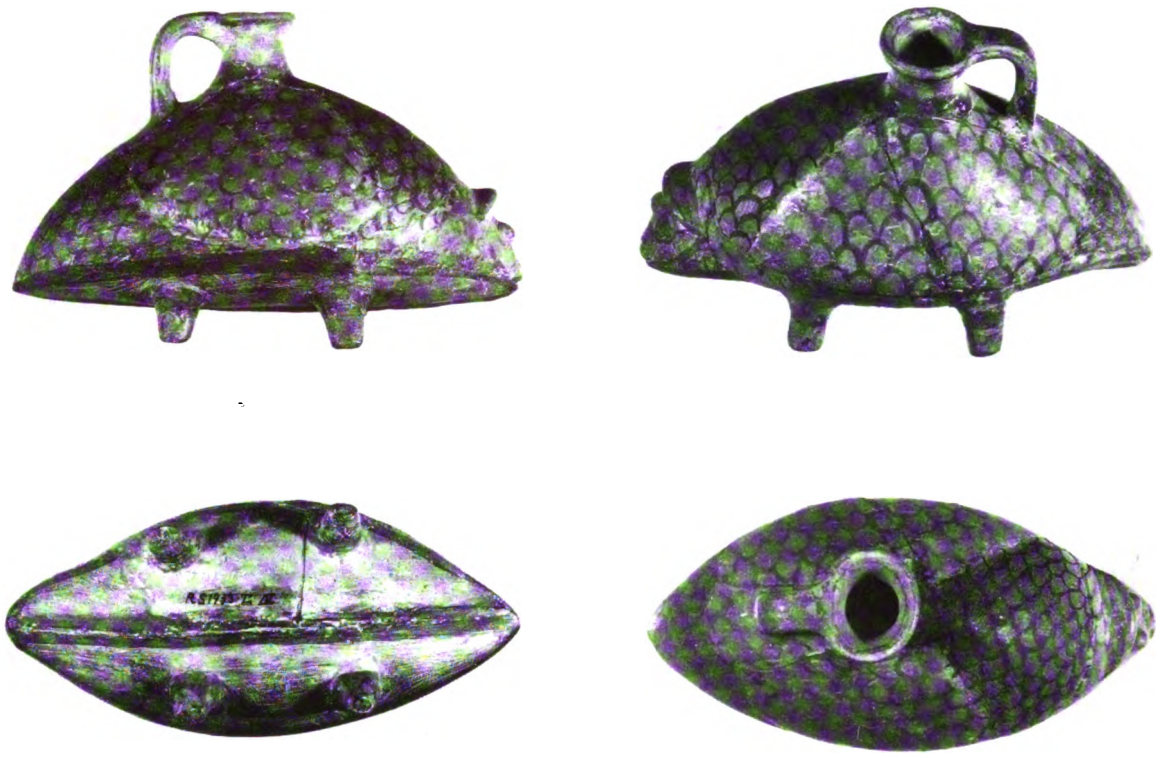

Fig. 2. Mycenaean hedgehog vase in Paris (no. 5 on the list, p. 36). Courtesy, Louvre Museum.

within the whole group of hedgehog vases, a second orifice of this kind is mentioned explicitly only in a few cases (the absence of one is nowhere noted). For the rest, in the majority of cases a defining term is used without the relative evidence being presented, occasionally without it being even preserved; it also happens that the reader is kept ignorant of whether it is preserved or not. This state of affairs creates confusion and, besides, makes clear why a new acquisition to the group, such as the Stockholm vase, cannot by itself add to the existing knowledge of the Mycenaean hedgehog vases – for that we would need a fresh study of all the vases known – but can only provide some new data.

Of these data, the absence of an orifice apart from the spout on the back must be mentioned at the outset. The vase, accordingly, is an askos rather than a rhyton.[9] In order to escape the kind of descriptive ambiguity referred to above, it might, however, be better to call it a theriomorphic vase with a single opening.[10]

The vessel conforms with the first group, as defined above. However, the basic compatibility does not exclude individual traits – all the hedgehog vases are, as already implied, visibly individual. Thus, the height of the body of MM 1963:3 seems comparatively large in proportion to its length. Since the same applies to the height of the spout in proportion to its width, the vessel as a whole looks somewhat taller than its companions. Another distinguishing feature is the handle which is thinner and flatter and, in part, straighter than those to be seen in the other vases. Finally, a very individual trait is the band of thick white paint displayed by the spout.

A counterpoise to these idiosyncrasies is presented in the close link between our vase and another in the same group, a vase in the Louvre (rhyton) from an excavated context, as far as the principal pattern of painted decoration is concerned (Fig. 2).[11] In each case we see a network of scales (Furumark Motif 70). They extend

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over a field which is limited upwards and downwards by horizontal bands, corresponding to the accommodation of the pattern on the shoulders of, for example, kraters and piriform jars of Mycenaean fabric. The wedge-shaped area in which the scales come to a lateral end on the cheeks of the hedgehog are identical in the two vases.

The Louvre vase belongs with those in its group which come from Syria, more specifically the important Bronze-Age town of Ugarit. Some examples were excavated in chamber tombs belonging to the harbour settlement of Minet-el-Beida, while others turned up in the habitation area of Ras Shamra. The vase in question comes from chamber tomb IV at Minet-el-Beida.[12] It was not included in the incomplete account of the tomb material which was published in 1949 and is still the only one available. In the absence of a fuller publication of the context as preserved, a date for the Louvre vase can only be a provisional and general one based on the 1949 drawings of a select material.[13] The Mycenaean vases illustrated may be mainly of LHIIIB date; [14] a LH IIIB date also fits the Cypriot pottery shown.[15]

Let us now return for a while to the individual peculiarities of the Stockholm vase. It must be confessed that the handle looks wrong for a Mycenaean vase. Judging by the clay, the slip and the paint, it seems nevertheless to be the original one.[16] The white-painted band on the spout also looks curious, not to say spurious.[17] However, it is affected by the same surface decomposition as deforms the upper part of the vessel towards one side and, provided the damage occurred in ancient times, the white paint should also be ancient. Actually, the band on the spout is not the only instance of white paint on the vase. The rim of the spout is covered by the same kind of paint. Moreover, the eyes of the hedgehog are each adorned by a small circle of white.[18] On the rim, and especially at the eyes, the white paint, being less well preserved, comes into view only when one starts looking actively for it. The same is true of the single circles of red paint which surround the white-painted ones at the eyes.[19] The red here is the same as that used for the scale pattern and the horizontal bands. The combination of two colours in concentric circles, close yet not overlapping, has a pattern quality that seems intentional. It may serve as an argument in favour of the white paint being as much part of the original decoration of the pot as the red paint.[20]

The hedgehog vase in the Louvre, for its part, shows red rings around the eyes of the animal which correspond in size and placement to those on the Stockholm vase. On the other hand, it reportedly lacks white paint, not only at the eyes but elsewhere, too. Its individual fabric is, moreover, dissimilar from that of the Stockholm example in that the clay, the slip and the paint all are of lighter hues. The presence of an outlet in the mouth of the hedgehog underlines the difference, as also the shape of the bottom/belly (with a longitudinal ridge or seam at the centre, absent in the Stockholm vase).[21] This leads to a negative conclusion: the Louvre and Stockholm vases, despite certain obvious correspondences in their painted decoration, hardly belong to the same potter's production. A positive conclusion offers more of a problem, as the previous discussion will have made clear. The safest and also perhaps the most honest position to adopt here is to reckon with two alternative possibilities. According to the first, the Stockholm hedgehog vase was manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean area (perhaps at Ras Shamra) at the end of the Late Bronze Age by a local potter who worked in the same tradition of Mycenaean pottery as the maker of the Louvre vase although that tradition was not the one in which he had been trained or, if it was, had been considerably weakened since he first learnt it. He fancied the use of white paint in addition to red/brown, like several colleagues of his in the Levanto-Mycenaean branch of pottery production.[22] The clay he used was not as carefully rinsed as that employed for the fine Mycenaean wares.[23] Since his slip and red paint also deviated somewhat from the Mycenaean standard (the paint being mat instead of lustrous), his pots, from the point of view of fabric, did not have the look of good-quality Mycenaean ware – hardly surprising at a place lika Ras Shamra, where Mycenaean vase forms could appear in abnormal or distinctly foreign fabrics (Syrian Bichrome, Cypriot Base Ring).[24] For minor elements of shape like handles, he might draw upon traditions other than the purely Mycenaean. And in theriomorphic vases he might fashion a closed mouth for the animal whenever the purpose of the vase did not specifically require a second opening – or, indeed, if the purpose was not clear to him. According to the second possibility, the vase was made in modern times, by a potter using Mycenaean hedgehog vases like the Louvre specimen for his models – although the particular combination of features to be seen in the Stockholm vase is actually not in evidence in any of the models known to scholars at present, and the unusual features seem a little too numerous to be comfortably ascribed *in toto* to negligent copying. Only a thermolu-

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minescence test would shed more light on the matter.

If of Late Bronze-Age date, the Stockholm vase constitutes an accession to the first group of hedgehog vases. Even without a new member, this group impresses itself as a true typological one, with a decent representation in the preserved material. But what about the rest of the specimens? Do they reflect variant Mycenaean types, or should they rather be regarded as rare whims on the part of potters or customers?

In facing up to this problem, we should not forget that the Mycenaean world was geographically a large one and that the time span which it covered was also considerable. It is therefore altogether possible that vases in the shape of hedgehogs were made to different patterns in different environments and at different points of time – so much so that we need hardly evoke any more extravagant possibilities (besides, potters' whims are not the first thing to be expected in a ware as standardized as the Mycenaean). The find contexts, as far as they are known, may here he taken into consideration again (cf. above) and compared with the particular forms of the vessels.

It then appears that, of the eleven certain vases in the first group, eight derive from Syria (Ugarit) and Lebanon (Kamid el-Loz), two from Cyprus (Maroni and Myrtou-Pighades) and one from the Greek mainland (Vari). The find pattern suggests a predominantly eastern distribution for this type of vessel, whatever its actual production centre or centres.[25] Its chronological horizon seems, on the whole, to be LH IIIB (13th century B.C.).[26]

In contrast, the two miniature vessels mentioned above (rhyta) have Mainland connotations (Fig. 3). Not only were they found at Prosymna in the Argolid, but their painted decoration answers to that of Mycenaean figurines, such as the bulls, i.e. artifacts embodying an initially Mainland tradition.[27] A LH IIIA2 (1350–1300 B.C.) date is supplied by the vases found with one of the hedgehog vases (the context of the second seems to have been disturbed).[28] The resemblance to the painted figurines is important, for it clarifies why the Prosymna vessels are so different from the vases of the first type, both in shape and size: their relations are with figurine-making rather than with pottery-making.[29] A figurine from Mycenae in the National Museum in Athens strengthens the case by being similar in general shape to the Prosymna vases.[30] Under these circumstances, it seems justifiable, in discussing the two vases, to speak of a second type of Mycenaean hedgehog vase, a type with no connection at all with the first one.[31] It may

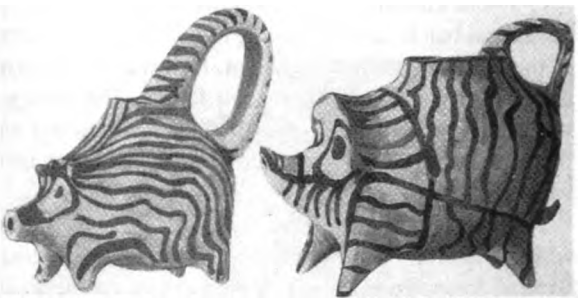

Fig. 3. Mycenaean hedgehog vases in Athens (nos. 1–2 on the list, p. 35). After *Prosymna*, Fig. 725.

have been rather rare, to the same extent as other vases corresponding to the animal figurines were rare.[32]

As for the two remaining vessels – those with funnel-shaped openings – the find places are unknown. One of the two, a vase (rhyton) in Bonn (Fig. 4), is, however, associable, if not closely, with the first type discussed above. The body is oval-shaped, the decoration is a distinctly ceramic one (Furumark Motif 53), and the funnel corresponds to the spout in position and its provision with a handle. It is also to be noted how the distribution of the painted horizontal bands (two along the seam at the bottom, one just above the feet and two at the bottom and top, respectively, of the funnel) corresponds to that of the Louvre vase. The differences, apart from the funnel, lie in the slight curve formed by the bottom of the vessel along the longitudinal axis and in the single forms of the hedgehog face,

Fig. 4. Mycenaean hedgehog vase in Bonn (no. 14 on the list, p. 36). Courtesy, Akademisches Kunstmuseum.

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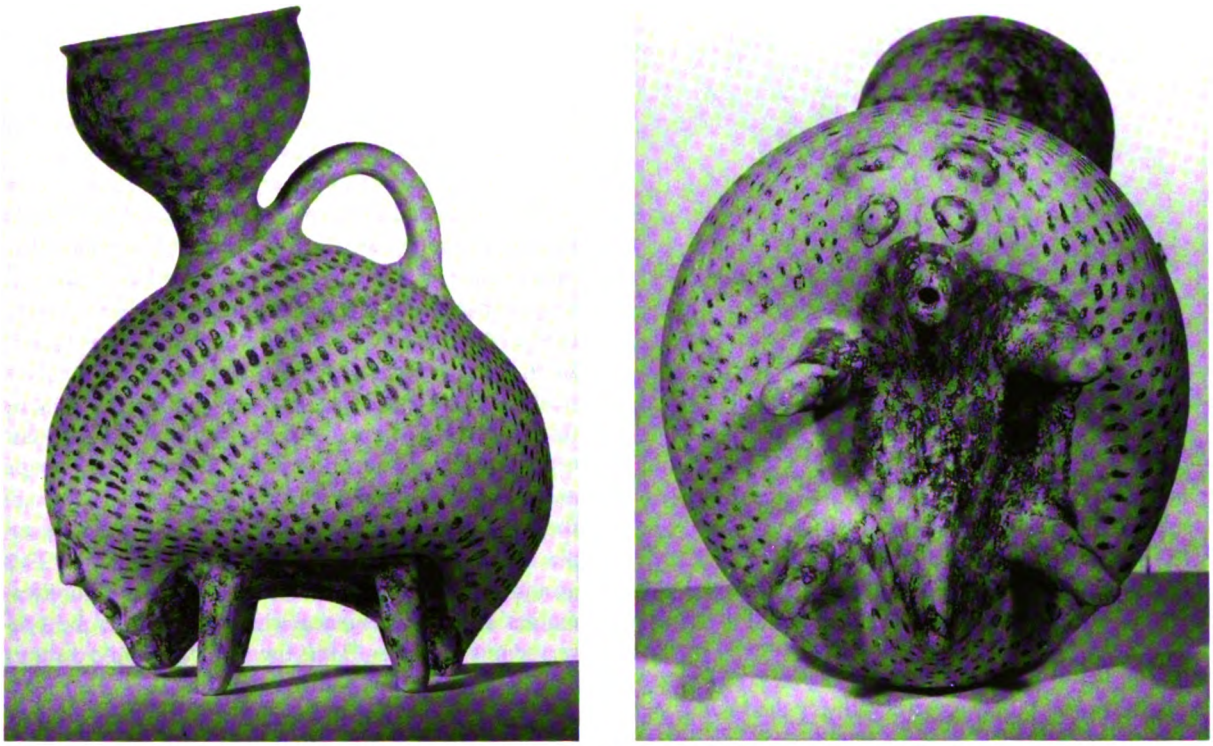

Fig. 5. Archaic Boeotian (?) hedgehog vase in Munich, inv. no. VAS 6395. Courtesy, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

especially the thin snout and the absence of the plastic crest marking the frontal limit of the spine fell. The vase has been often considered as Minoan instead of Mycenaean, most recently on account of the clay and the painted decoration.[33] The problem is, however, that there is no evidence at all from the extensive, excavated material from Cretan sites that hedgehog vases belonged to the Minoan ceramic repertoire.[34] As long as no example turns up on the island, and in view of the correspondences with a better-established Mycenaean type,[35] the Bonn vase should be regarded as rather more Mycenaean than anything else although its precise position remains to be defined.

The last vase (rhyton), in Munich (Fig. 5), regrettably merits the opposite judgement: rather less Mycenaean than anything else. The reason why its record as Mycenaean has remained impeccable for so long[36] is, I suspect, that it has escaped personal examination by most of the scholars writing about it. An examination of the surface of the vessel is enough to throw considerable doubt on its Mycenaean manufacture. On top of the clay, as a base for the brownish-red paint, one finds a thin layer which extends over less than the entire surface (absent on the inside of the funnel) and forms less of a unit with the clay than does the usual Mycenaean-type slip. Moreover, it has a very light hue, so light that the difference in colour with respect to the clay – cream white as against beige to reddish brown – becomes just too great for a Mycenaean pot.

The warning given by the technique inspires a critical look at the vessel as a whole. It then becomes apparent that its style is, in fact, different from that of the hedgehog vases discussed above, particularly those of the first type. In the latter, the body of the hedehog has been reduced to a stylized, plastic shape, so that the animal constituent and the vessel constituent of the object have reached a kind of balance.[37] In the Prosymna vases, the animal comes more to the fore in the modelling, yet a stylizing agent is present in the non-naturalistic painting. In contrast, the Munich pot exemplifies an overall, close-to-nature rendering of the animal: the typical pose with a strongly recurved body, a

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Fig. 6. Archaic Boeotian ram vase in Munich, inv. no. VAS 6396. Courtesy, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

belly distinguished by paint from the rest of the body, spines reproduced in paint, and ears present in modelling.[38] In this way, the animal part comes to prevail over the vessel to such a degree that we would hardly think in terms of a pot, were it not for the handle and the funnel.[39] A strong, realistic intent is, on the whole, not characteristic of Mycenaean art, as is evidenced by numerous animal representations ranging in time from the shaft graves to the fall of the palaces. It is thereby especially interesting to note that such pictures of hedgehogs as exist in other media – paintings on pottery vessels and on one of the grave stelae at Mycenae –[40] conform in not being outspokenly naturalistic renderings; several actually show resemblances to hedgehog vases of the first type such as the Louvre example (same excessively regular bodies with flat or almost flat stomachs).

Unusual in a Mycenaean context is, furthermore, the particular combination of handle and funnel. The comparatively large funnel is placed directly in front of the handle, so that the two form a kind of pair, however unbalanced. This does not answer to the normal relationship of handle and (principal) opening in Mycenaean vases, according to which the two are either well separated or joined.[41]

A clue to the Munich hedgehog is possibly available in Munich itself. The same collection includes a vessel (rhyton) in the shape of a pensive ram (Fig. 6).[42] Without being a faithful reproduction of the actual animal shape – note, for instance, the schematic roller-shape of the trunk – it incorporates obvious realistic touches, such as the marked joints of the hindlegs, the fleshiness of the tail, the strong curve of the horns around the ears and the blank stare of the bulbous eyes. The surface technique appears to be the same as that of the hedgehog vase: there is an equally distinct slip, extending over less than the entire surface,[43] and the colours are similar (clay surface light orange-brown, slip cream white, paint reddish-brown to brownish-black). Right in front of the handle is a plain, circular opening. The provenience of the piece is not recorded. Since the original publication, it has, by and large, been considered a Mycenaean work, just like the hedgehog vase.[44] In this case, however, another, and better, possibility is readily available, and has actually been so for a long time. For there have been since the end of the last century in the official and private collections of Europe and America a number of ram vessels which have all the same characteristics of shape as the Munich example, although they differ in surface treatment.[45] This group can be associated with Boeotia, from the information as to provenience which happens to be preserved in a few cases.[46] It is time that we should connect once and for all the Munich ram with these other rams and thereby recognize its true identity as Archaic Boeotian.[47] Its specific surface treatment adds a new variant to those documented of its companions.[48] This variant is to be seen in another Archaic type of Boeotian plastic viz. the "sphinx" vases.[49] It is, moreover, paralleled elsewhere in the Boeotian pottery, just like the pattern of

Fig.7. Detail of the vase represented in Fig. 5. After Sieveking & Hackl (note 36), Pl. 5:48.

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hooks decorating the body of the ram.[50] With the help of the "sphinx" vases and the pottery, the Munich ram vessel can be dated to the end of the 7th cent. B.C.[51]

The similarities of technique and style which exist between the ram vase and the hedgehog vase are of a somewhat general order – too general, it may be argued, to allow of the classification of the hedgehog vase as Boeotian, if not as Archaic. A close look at the head of the hedgehog may, however, take us one step further in the Boeotian direction. At the border between the head and the rest of the body are two somewhat carelessly painted zigzag lines, now nearly vanished but once clearly visible as is shown by the publication photograph (Fig. 7). They have a distinctly Boeotian flavour, being reminiscent of the often slightly disorderly zigzag or angular wavy lines which are commonly used for zonal or metopal patterns in Boeotian pottery decoration of early Archaic date.[52] The two lines in question are surely only a small detail of the whole, but as long as we lack parallels to the vessel as such, the details will necessarily be important. Of importance is also the circumstance that hedgehogs were, as a matter of fact, considered worthy of representation in early Boeotia. A remarkable, Boeotian, Late Geometric kantharos in Vienna displays no less than four examples in paint, all with markedly recurved bodies.[53] It seems clear from this unique representation that the hedgehog as an animal possessed some special significance in the cultural milieu where the vase was made. The Munich vessel, if Boeotian, may well embody this same significance transplanted into a different form.[54]

I shall end where I started, viz. with Mycenaean hedgehog vases. The discussion having been concluded, it may be useful to make a list of those examples which may, with some certainty, be considered as Mycenaean and to range them according to the two types into which they have been seen to fall (here called Levanto-Mycenaean and Mainland). Being principally a help towards identification, the list does not contain descriptions and discussions of the single items, only information as to actual location, inventory number and provenience, as well as references to previous publications. A question-mark alongside the serial number means that the hedgehog identity cannot be regarded as entirely secure (a measure of uncertainty often surrounds the identification of species in the case of theriomorphic vases). Within the whole body of Mycenaean pottery, these vessels form a very small group. But they are not quite as rare as a technically and artistically distinguished example of around 600 B.C. like the Munich vessel.

Addendum

According to the result of a thermoluminescence test made at the Research Laboratory of Archaeology and Art History at Oxford in August 1987, the hedgehog vase in the Medelhavsmuseet is modern (less than fifty years old).

Mycenaean Hedgehog Vases

Mainland type

1. Athens, National Museum (Fig. 3, left)
From Prosymna, Tomb XXI
Prosymna, pp. 63–65, 453–454, Figs. 126 and 725; Buchholz 1965, p. 77, Pl. 13:4; Karageorghis, p. 229; Buchholz & Karageorghis, no. 1253*a* (left); Miller, pp. 232–233, 239–240, 243–244, 427 (TC 155); Yon, p. 272; Buchholz 1987, pp. 522–523 with n. 138.

2 (?). Athens, National Museum (Fig. 3, right)
From Prosymna, Tomb XI
Prosymna, pp. 201–203, 453–454, Figs. 515 and 725; Buchholz 1965, p. 77, Pl. 13:4; Karageorghis, p. 229; Buchholz & Karageorghis, no. 1253*b* (right); Miller, pp. 232–233, 239–240, 243–244, 427 (TC 156); Yon, p. 272; Buchholz 1987, pp. 522–523 with n. 138.

Levanto-Mycenaean type

3. Paris, Louvre AO 18573
From Ras Shamra
Schaeffer, Fouilles, p. 139, Pl. XVII:2; Bossert, *Altkreta*[3], Berlin 1937, No. 496; *idem*, *Altsyrien*, Tübingen 1951, No. 647; *Ugaritica* II, Pl. XXXVII, bottom; Buchholz 1965, p. 77, Pl. 13:2; Karageorghis, p. 228, Pl. XXII:5; Miller, pp. 252, 256–258, 432 (TC 164); Yon, p. 272 with n. 37; Buchholz 1987, p. 208, Fig. 64*a*.

4. Paris, Louvre AO 16094
From Ras Shamra/Minet-el-Beida, Tomb V
C. F. A. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra*, London 1939, Pl. 28:3; *Ugaritica* II, Figs. 58 A and 58:4; K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefässe in Kopf- und Protomengestalt*, Berlin 1962, p. 33, n. 133, Form C; Buchholz 1965, p. 77; Karageorghis, p. 228; Miller, pp. 251–252, 256–258, 431–432 (TC 163); Yon, p. 272 with n. 37; Buchholz 1987, p. 208 with n. 95.

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5. Paris, Louvre AO 26753 (Fig. 2)
From Ras Shamra/Minet-el-Beida, Tomb IV
Karageorghis, p. 228, Pl. XXII:2; Miller, pp. 251–252, 256–258, 431 (TC 162); Yon, p. 272 with n. 37; Buchholz 1987, p. 208 with n. 95, Fig. 64*c*.

6(?). Paris, Louvre AO 18574
From Ras Shamra
Ugaritica II, Pl. XXXVII, top; Miller, pp. 432–433 (TC 165); Yon, p. 272 with n. 37 (inv. no. incorrectly given as AO 18564).

7. Damascus, National Museum
From Ras Shamra ("Sud Acropole, secteur 138, point top. 3655")
Ugaritica VII, p. 324, Fig. 43:1; Yon, p. 272 with n. 37; Buchholz 1987, p. 208 with n. 96.

8. Damascus, National Museum
From Ras Shamra ("point top. 4740")
Ugaritica VII, p. 324, Fig. 43:2; Yon, p. 272 with n. 37; Buchholz 1987, p. 208 with n. 96.

9. Damascus, National Museum
From Ras Shamra ("secteur 7/8 W, point top. 4640")
Ugaritica VII, p. 324, Fig. 43:4; Yon, p. 272 with n. 37; Buchholz 1987, p. 208 with n. 96.

10 (?). Beirut, Archaeological Museum
From Kamid el-Loz
Frühe Phöniker im Libanon. 20 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabungen in Kamid el-Loz (exhibition catalogue), Saarbrücken 1983, p. 70, Fig. 33; Yon, p. 272 with n. 36.

11. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum CM 1951/IX-18/b
From Myrtou-Pighades
Karageorghis, p. 225, Fig. 52:2; Miller, p. 277, 449 (TC 191); Yon, p. 272 with n. 34.

12. London, British Museum C 313
From Maroni, Tomb 14
H. B. Walters, */British Museum/ Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan vases*, vol. I. Part II, London 1912, p. 59 (C 313); *CVA* British Museum 1 (Great Britain 1), London 1925, IICa, Pl. 5:25; E. Gjerstad, *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala 1926, pp. 196–197; Maximova, p. 63, n. 4; Buchholz 1965, p. 77; J. Johnson, *Maroni de Chypre*, Gothenburg 1980 (*SIMA* vol. LIX), p. 21, no. 100, Pl. XX and LXIII; D. Morris, *The Art of Ancient Cyprus*, Oxford 1985, p. 233, Fig. 382; Yon, p. 272 with n. 34; Buchholz 1987, pp. 522–523 with n. 138.

13. Athens, National Museum 5813
From Vari
M. Collignon & L. Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée national d'Athènes*, Paris 1902, No. 104, Pl. 7; Karo, p. 264; Buchholz 1965, p. 77, Pl. 13:1; Buchholz & Karageorghis, no. 1254; Miller, pp. 242–243, 448 (TC 190); Yon, p. 272 with n. 35; Buchholz 1987, pp. 522–523 with n. 138.

Related to Levanto-Mycenaean type
14. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1641 (Fig. 4)
Provenience unknown
Karo, p. 264; Maximova, pp. 63–64, Pl. 7, no. 24; Buchholz 1965, p. 77, Pl. 13:3; Karageorghis, p. 230; Buchholz & Karageorghis, no. 1255; *CVA* Bonn 2 (Deutschland 40), Munich 1976, Pl. 16:1–4; Miller, pp. 242–244, 448 (TC 189); Yon, p. 272 with n. 35; Buchholz 1987, pp. 522–523 with n. 138.

Abbreviations

Buchholz 1965
H.-G. Buchholz, Echinos and Hystrix. Igel und Stachelschwein in Frühzeit und Antike, *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 5, 1965, pp. 66–92
Buchholz 1987
H.-G. Buchholz (ed.), *Ägäische Bronzezeit*, Darmstadt 1987
Buchholz & Karageorghis
H.-G. Buchholz & V. Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkypros*, Tübingen 1971
Karageorghis
V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre. Receuil critique et commenté*, Paris 1965 (École francaise d'Athènes, Études chypriotes, III)
Karo
G. Karo, Minoische Rhyta, *JdI* 26, 1911, pp. 249–270
Maximova
M. Maximova, *Vases plastiques dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1927
Miller
E. B. Miller, *Zoomorphic Vases in the Bronze Age Aegean*, Ann Arbor, University Microfilms International 1984 (diss. New York University 1984)
Prosymna
C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna. The Helladic settlement preceding the Argive Heraeum*, Cambridge 1937
Schaeffer, Fouilles
C. F.-A. Schaeffer, Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935). Rapport sommaire, *Syria* 17, 1936, pp. 105–148

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Ugaritica II
C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, Paris 1949
Ugaritica VII
J.-C. Courtois (ed.), *Ugaritica* VII, Paris 1978
Yon
M. Yon, Instruments de culte en mediterranée Orientale, in *Acts of the international archaeological symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident"* (Nicosia 8–14 September 1985), Nicosia 1986, pp. 265–288

[1] *Antiken. Konst från den grekisk-romerska kulturvärlden ur svenska samlingar*, Stockholm 1967 (Nationalmusei utställningskatalog nr 313), p. 51, no. 112 (Etruscan, *c.* 550 B.C.). *CVA* Stockholm 1 (Sweden 2), Stockholm 1983, Pl. 38, Fig. 55 (White-on-Red Ware, seventh century B.C.?). It is to be noted that a correct assessment of the vase, except for the problem relating to its full acceptance as Mycenaean, was made in passing in 1976 by B. Kaiser in connection with his *CVA* publication of the hedgehog vase in Bonn (see *infra*, with n. 33).

According to *Antiken, loc. cit.*, the vase was bought in Rome in 1963. This piece of information is not found in the inventory book, nor in the *CVA* publication; it may, nevertheless, very well be correct, since its source is Olof Vessberg, who was the director of the museum at the time of the acquisition.

[2] Buchholz 1965, p. 77; Karageorghis, pp. 225, 228–231; Miller, pp. 232–233, 239–244, 251–252, 256–258, 277, 427, 431–432, 447–449, 553; Yon, pp. 271–272; Buchholz 1987, pp. 208, 522–523. For earlier literature, see Karo, p. 264 and Maximova, pp. 63–64.

[3] The number includes a specimen which must be regarded as uncertain by reason of its very fragmentary state. See the list given below, item no. 6.

[4] Schaeffer, Fouilles, p. 139.

[5] Karageorghis, p. 225 with n. 3; J. Du Plat Taylour, *Myrtou-Pighades. A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus*, Oxford 1957, p. 42 (Catling); Fig. 20.

[6] Miller (pp. 241–244) nevertheless endeavours to establish a typology in which one of the vessels (Munich 6395; not, however, certainly Mycenaean, on which see below) is made to serve as the prototype for all the rest. The only criterion for the arrangement seems to be the degree of naturalism inherent in the form of the vase; the form itself is disregarded.

[7] To judge from the (summary) description and the drawing, the hedgehog face of a vase from Ras Shamra, *Ugaritica* VII, p. 325, Fig. 43:1, seems to include no modelled details. On the vase from Kamid el-Loz, the upper end of the handle is at the neck, not the mouth, of the spout.

[8] See, most recently, R. E. Jones (with contributions by J. Boardman, H. W. Catling, C. B. Mee, W. W. Phelps and A. M. Pollard), *Greek and Cypriot Pottery. A Review of Scientific Studies*, Athens 1986 (Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper, 1), in which hedgehog vessels do not occur in the lists of tested Mycenaean pottery.

[9] The askos definition is to be found in both the earlier publications (*supra*, n. 1). Note, however, that the opening is only very little out of axis (on axial asymmetry as one of the conventional requirements for calling a pot an askos, cf. M. Yon, *Dictionnaire illustré multilingue de la céramique du Proche Orient Ancien*, Lyon 1981, *s.v.* askos).

[10] Compare the arguments with respect to the use of the term rhyton put forward by Miller, pp. 8–11.

[11] Louvre AO 26753. The vase is substantially unpublished, although it has been mentioned and illustrated a few times. I should like to thank Mme Annie Caubet of the Département des antiquités orientales at the Louvre for supplying information and photographs (I have not myself seen the vase).

[12] Karageorghis, p. 228 (no. 8), with n. 3. Inscription in ink on the bottom of the vase: RS 1933. T.IV.

[13] *Ugaritica* II, Fig. 57.

[14] Note the krater no. 29 (= Louvre AO 11724), one of the very latest chariot kraters.

[15] For example, White Slip II milk bowls.

[16] The slip covers the outside and the lower part of the inside. The paint on the outside forms a pattern of horizontal bars. There are three mended breaks. Two are at the junctions with the body; these, when mended, were supplemented with modern material (gypsum) and overpainted with a red colour which differs in hue from that of the original red paint.

[17] Being thick and creamy and having a yellowish tinge (discolouration?). The position is directly above the red-painted band which forms an upper limit for the scale pattern. The two bands appear to overlap very slightly, with the white coming on top of the red.

[18] The circle is set close to the centre of the eye. (The colouring of the centre itself, if any, is unclear as a result of surface abrasion.) In the area of the mouth of the hedgehog, as also elsewhere, there are more traces of white, but this white has a different consistency and is apparently a discolouration rather than an intentional effect; it is, for instance, seen to extend as a thin film over part of the red circle surrounding the left eye.

[19] Preserved only at the left eye. It is at the limit of the modelling for the eye. Both the red and the white circles at the eyes pass unnoticed in the *CVA* text (*supra*, n. 1); they are, however, indicated on the accompanying drawing (reproduced here).

[20] Note in this context that the hedgehog vase in Bonn treated below has two, painted, concentric circles at the eyes, similar in placement and size to those of the Stockholm vase, although of a single colour. (In addition, there is a dot at the centre of the eye).

[21] For the information on the Louvre vase given here, including the colouring of clay, slip and paint ("pâte chamois, engobe ocre jaune burnished, décor peint brun orangé"), I am indebted to Dr. Caubet (see *supra*, n. 11).

[22] Karageorghis, Figs. 49–50; *Ugaritica* II and VII, *passim*. The white paint is generally used for patterns on top of the red/

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brown. One of the hedgehog vases from Ras Shamra shows this kind of white patterning in a particularly rich version (*Ugaritica* VII, Fig. 43:1).

[23] The mineral grains still remaining in the clay show up even through the slip and the paint (visible on the photographs).

[24] For a conical rhyton of Mycenaean type in Bichrome ware and an ovoid rhyton of Minoan type in Base Ring ware, see Yon, Fig. 4*c* and 5*c*, respectively. For a vessel which, like ours, combines Mycenaean form and painted design with "less than Mycenaean" fabric, see *Ugaritica* II, Fig. 93:2–3 and Pl. XXXVI (rhyton in the shape of a goat's (?) head), with the commentary by Schaeffer on p. 222: "Rhyton mycénien probablement de fabrication syrienne sinon ugaritienne en t.c. à engobe crème, peint en brun. Comparé au rhyton 5 à 7, il s'agit sans aucun doute d'une sorte de contrefaçon en t.c. plus épaisse, moins épurée et moins bien cuite, peinte par une main moins habile." (The Stockholm vase has thick walls, to judge from its weight.)

[25] See Karageorghis, esp. pp. 224–230, and Yon, pp. 271–272.

[26] The Ugarit hedgehog vases found by Schaeffer in a stratigraphical context were dated by him to his period Ugarit Récent 3, viz. 1365–1200 B.C. (Schaeffer, Fouilles, p. 139; *Ugaritica* II, p. 152 (Tomb V); *ibidem*, p. 150 (Tomb IV; on this tomb, see further *supra*, n. 14)). Courtois dated two further vessels (no context) to LH IIIB (*Ugaritica* VII, p. 324). Of the two vases from Cyprus, the Maroni one has been placed in the LH IIIB period on account of its type rather than its tomb context (J. Johnson, *Maroni de Chypre*, Gothenburg 1980, p. 21, no. 100); the Myrtou-Pighades example, to judge from its painted decoration (Furumark Motifs 62 with fill of 11), should be LH IIIB as well, a date also supported by the conical rhyton together with which it was possibly found (Du Plat Taylour (*supra*, n. 5), *loc. cit.*; cf. P. A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery. A Guide to Identification*, Gothenburg 1986, p. 109 with Fig. 133:1 (LH IIIB 1).

[27] Cf. E. French, The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines, *BSA* 66, 1971, *passim*.

[28] Both tombs contained material from several burials. In one (no. XI), the hedgehog vase lay in a shallow cist in the dromos. The material found with it is said to have included a yellow Minyan sherd, which acts as a deterrent against trying to date the hedgehog vase from the rest of the accompanying pottery. In the other tomb (no. XXI), the respective hedgehog vase belonged with pottery which had accumulated in the inner left-hand corner and which appears chronologically homogeneous (LH IIIA 2) (the range of the entire material deposited in the tomb is, however, somewhat larger, including LH IIIB 1 as well). *Prosymna*, pp. 201–203, 63–65 and Figs. 126 and 515.

The painted decoration of the latter hedgehog vase corresponds to that of French's Wavy Type 2 animlas (*op. cit.*, p. 154).

[29] That both could be practised by a single person (cf. French (*supra*, n. 27), p. 174) is a different matter.

[30] The figurine belongs to the group NM 2662 (Tsountas' excavations on the acropolis of Mycenae in 1888). French (*supra*, n. 27), p. 162. I am grateful to Dr. French for sending me additional information on the figurine, as well as a picture. In the present opinion of Dr. French, the hedgehog identity is not entirely certain, with which I agree.

[31] In contrast to Miller, who envisages a connection. See *supra*, n. 6.

[32] A bull vase (rhyton) is on show in the Antikensammlungen in Munich (once in the Shoen collection). It has been published in R. Lullies, *Eine Sammling griechischer Kleinkunst*, Munich 1955, p. 14, no. 20, Pl. 6.

[33] B. Kaiser in *CVA* Bonn 2 (Deutschland 40), Munich 1976, Pl. 16:1–4.

[34] Kaiser (see the preceding note) mentions an unpublished hedgehog vase from Mallia referred to by van Effenterre and said by him to have been found by P. Demargne (*ÉtCrét* 8, 1948, p. 30, n. 1). However, this vase does not turn up in any of the later Mallia publications. It may be that the object is actually not a vase – van Effenterre does not explicitly speak of a vase – but equivalent to a figurine (inv. no. 8666) identified as a beetle (showing some resemblances to a hedgehog!) which was published in the following volume of *Études Crétoises* by Demargne as one of the finds from the hill of St Elias close to Mallia (*ÉtCrét* 9, 1953, p. 6, Pls. XVI an XLV).

[35] Karageorghis, although taking the vessel to be Minoan, likewise notices the similarity of the form to that of the hedgehog vases of my first type (Karageorghis, p. 230, no. 1).

[36] Cf. Karo, p. 264; J. Sieveking & R. Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München. I. Band. Die älteren nichtattischen Vasen*, Munich 1912, p. 6, no. 48, Pl. 5; Maximova, pp. 63–64; Buchholz 1965, p. 77; D. Ohly, *Die Antikensammlungen am Königsplatz in München*, p. 21; Buchholz & Karageorghis, no. 1256; Miller, pp. 241–243, 257–258, 447 (TC 188); Buchholz 1987, pp. 522–523 with n. 138.

[37] On the problem of the relationship between animal form and container in the theriomorphic vases, see K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefässe in Kopf- und Protomengestalt*, Berlin 1962, p. 14; B. Otto, Tierplastik oder Tiergefäss, in *Tainia. Festschrift für Roland Hampe*, Mainz 1980, pp. 7–20; and Miller, p. 10.

[38] Ears are otherwise not depicted on Mycenaean hedgehogs, whether on vessels like those treated here or on painted representations (see below). They are, on the other hand, generally to be seen in Archaic and later types; see, for instance, R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the terracottas in the department of Greek and Roman antiquities, British Museum*, vol. II, London 1959, nos. 1641–1642 (Rhodian plastic vases of clay, *c.* 550 B.C.), *CVA* Berlin 4 (Deutschland 33), Munich 1971, Pl. 169:4–5 (East Greek plastic vases of faience, first half to the middle of the sixth century B.C.), Buchholz 1965, Pl. 10:2–3 (plastic vase of clay from southern Russia, ascribed to the first century B.C.).

[39] Cf. Maximova, pp. 63–64. The realistic vein of the modelling and the painting was, however, taken by Maximova as a confirmation of a supposed Cretan origin. Miller likewise stresses the realistic quality. For her, it warrants the setting-up of the Munich vase and similar examples as the prototypes for

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all the Mycenaean hedgehog vases (p. 243; cf. *supra*, no. 6).

[40] See Buchholz 1965, pp. 77–80, with illustrations.

[41] Exceptions are to be found in examples of Furumark Shape 195 (based askos), the ancestry of which is not clearly Mycenaean; see, for example, Lullies (*supra*, n. 32), p. 11, no. 8. A vertical ring flask in Heidelberg (*CVA* Heidelberg 3 (Deutschland 27), Munich 1966, Pl. 97:8–10) is another case in point (a vase lacking parallels).

[42] Munich, Antikensammlungen, inv. no. 6396 (Sammlung Arndt 835). Published in Sieveking & Hackl (*supra*, n. 36), p. 6, no. 49. Mentioned in E. Buschor, Das Krokodil des Sotades, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* XI, 1919, p. 28, n. 8; *CVA* Amsterdam (Pays-Bas 1), Paris 1927, IIIG, Pl. 3:7 (text by C. W. Lunsingh Schleurleer); *CVA* Tübingen 1 (Deutschland 36), Munich 1973, Pl. 47:1–3 (text by K. Wallenstein).

[43] Not to be seen at the bottom/belly, the insides of the legs, the horns, a small area behind the horns and the underside of the handle.

[44] Sieveking & Hackl (*supra*, n. 36), i.e. the official museum publication, classes it as Mycenaean. Schleurleer and Wallenstein (*supra*, n. 36), by connecting the vase more or less explicitly with the category of ram vessels mentioned below (mostly not done by scholars treating the latter), conclude that it was of Boeotian manufacture. Buschor (*supra*, n. 42) makes a daring combination of the two standpoints, in that he keeps to a Mycenaean date for the Munich ram vessel while at the same time recognizing the links between it and another ram vessel which he publishes as Boeotian of the seventh century.

[45] M. Szabó, Vases plastiques et terres cuites béotiens à la fin du 7^{e} et au début du 6^{e} siecles av. n. è., *Acta classica universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis* XV, 1979, pp. 5–6; K. Wallenstein (*supra*, n. 42) gives a list of the vessels known to him according to the two somewhat different form types inte which they can be divided (first type: roller-shaped body, high, vertical legs, small head; second type: less roller-shaped body, lower, slightly obliquely set legs, larger head). To his list of the first type, apart from the example in the Louvre supplemented by Szabó, *loc. cit.*, the following should be added: A. P. Kozloff & U. Gehrig (eds.), *Tierbilder aus vier Jahrtausenden. Antiken der Sammlung Mildenberg*, Mainz 1983, no. 95 *bis*.

[46] For example, *CVA* Berlin 4 (*supra*, n. 38), Pl. 192:8 ("Aus Theben"); *CVA* Louvre 17 (France 26), Paris 1974, Pl. 18:3–4 ("Prov. indiquée: Thèbes (Acq. 1897)").

[47] For the occasional identifications of it as Archaic Boeotian already made, see above, n. 44.

[48] Either a covering layer of dark-brown-to-grey colour with white colour on top for the pattern, or a covering layer of red-to-reddish-brown colour with white colour on top for the pattern. For one example of each in the same collection, see R. Hampe & H. Gropengiesser, *Aus der Sammlung des archäologischen Institutes der Universität Heidelberg*, Berlin-Heidelberg-New York 1967, Pl. 20 with text pp. 52, 103–104 (inv. nos. G 56 and G 57, examined by myself). The difference may have something to do with the technique of firing rather than with the make-up of the painting material, seeing that the clay itself corresponds in hue, being darker in the first variant than in the second. Each variant is represented in each of the two form types.

[49] See the "sphinx" vase in the British Museum, Higgins (*supra*, n. 38), no. 1678. Another "sphinx" vase in Paris (*CVA* Louvre 17 (*supra*, n. 46), Pl. 18:1–2) shows an interesting combination of this technique (head, breast and front side of forelegs, except feet) and that using a covering layer of reddish-brown with white on top (rest of body), a circumstance which tends both to confirm the connection of the ram vase in Munich with the other ram vases under discussion and to strengthen the links between the "spinx" vases and the ram vases (on the latter point, as well as on the "sphinx" vases in general, see Szabó (*supra*, n. 45), pp. 4–5.

[50] An excellent *comparandum* as regards both surface technique and hooked pattern is provided by a ring askos in Berlin (*CVA* Berlin 4 (*supra*, n. 38), Pl. 185:6 and 186:1–2). The description says that the clay is ochre-coloured, that a layer of white extends over the surface except at the bottom of the vase and the underside of the handle and that the pattern is painted with black to reddish glaze (I have not myself seen the vase). There are two, parallel, horizontal rows of hooks, similar in shape to those on the Munich ram vase, although here arranged in tiers separated by horizontal lines. The link with the Munich vessel is strengthened by the ram-head spout and the circular opening right behind it, viz. an arrangement identical with that displayed by the ram vessels.

[51] See Szabó (*supra*, n. 45), p. 5 ("sphinx" vases) and *CVA* Berlin 4 (preceding note), *loc. cit.* (ring askos).

[52] The zonal pattern, using horizontal lines, was, it seems, inherited from Geometric pottery decoration (see *CVA* Berlin 4, Pl. 185:1 for examples of single and triple zigzag lines on the same pot). It is commonly seen in the handle zone of the Boeotian Kylix Ware of the early part of the sixth century (for example, *ibidem*, Pls. 188:3–4 (single line), 190:1–2 (double lines), 188:7–8 (quadruple lines).

[53] The kantharos is published in Buchholz 1965, pp. 75–76 with Pl. 12:1–2. On at least one of the two sides, a lion is depicted alongside the hedgehogs.

[54] One might suggest that the significance was related to beliefs and/or practices surrounding death. The Boeotian Geometric kantharos was a vessel connected with the realm of death; it lacked the Dionysiac and heroic connotations of the Attic kantharos of the sixth century (F. Canciani, Böotische Vasen aus dem 8. und 7. Jahrhundert, *JdI* 80, 1965, p. 44). The Munich vase, being completely preserved, almost certainly came from a tomb.

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A Silenus Head in Stockholm

Örjan Wikander

In 1980, the Medelhavsmuseet obtained a terracotta head, apparently representing a Silenus, from an antique dealer in Stockholm, who in his turn had acquired it in London. The original provenance of the head is unknown.

MM 1980:3

Terracotta head attached to a short backer, horseshoe-shaped in section. Flat, narrow base.
Broad, rounded face, framed by locks of hair on the forehead and two vertical hair-tresses on either side. Small, faintly indicated ears, which continue upwards in what may be intended to represent tall, equine ears folded along the head. Large, almond-shaped eyes; well-marked, curved brows; wrinkled forehead. Broad, rather flat nose. Long, protruding tongue. The short beard and the moustache are rendered as plain masses. Clay light yellowish-brown throughout, containing only small amounts of mica. Covered on both outside and inside with a similarly coloured slip. Hair, eyebrows, outline of eyes, pupils, moustache and beard painted violet; eyeballs yellowish-white; ears and the remaining parts of the face dark red (with no attempt to distinguish between the tongue, the upper lip and the surrounding area). The backer, including the crown behind the forehead locks, is unpainted.
The head is chipped in a number of places, notably the nose and upper lip.
Preserved length 13.5 cm (tip of nose missing); Height 15.4 cm (back) to 18.7 cm (front); Maximum width 14.9 cm (between ears); Thickness of backer 1.7–2.4 cm.

The unknown provenance constitutes a serious problem, since there seem to be no obvious, convincing parallels to the piece. However, the immediate impression conveyed by the head is mostly reminiscent of Central Italian or Sicilian terracotta antefixes. Etruria, in particular, has yielded several related representations.

The clay, tempering and colour (particularly the violet, probably intended for black) have much in common with those of architectural terracottas from Cerveteri.[1] However, the similarities with Silenus antefixes are of a rather general nature. If one concentrates on details, it becomes evident that the Stockholm Silenus differs in almost every respect from the known examples of that category, from a stylistic as well as a functional point of view.

The most fundamental problem is that of function. The Silenus head is not, as in the case of a normal antefix, attached to a real cover-tile but only to a very short backer. As far as can be seen, there is no possible explanation of how the object could have been fixed to the eaves, and, if that is the case, we cannot reasonably be dealing with an antefix at all. Yet other interpretations are no more attractive. The identification as a patrix (the original of terracotta moulds) is in conflict with the fact that the piece is carefully painted; it is, of course, possible that this is a votive gift, but the Silenus motif makes it rather unlikely.

Andrén drew attention to two Late Archaic "antefixes" which are actually related to the Stockholm Silenus in their lack of cover-tiles: a female head in Florence with no known provenance, and a gorgoneion type from Campania.[2] From the top of the female head, "a curved, semicircular tongue projects downwards, forming a kind of hook by the aid of which the antefix was probably attached to some vertical architectonic member, a sima or the like". Koch, who published the gorgoneion, refrained from giving his opinion of its function,[3] but Andrén interpreted this, too, as a kind of

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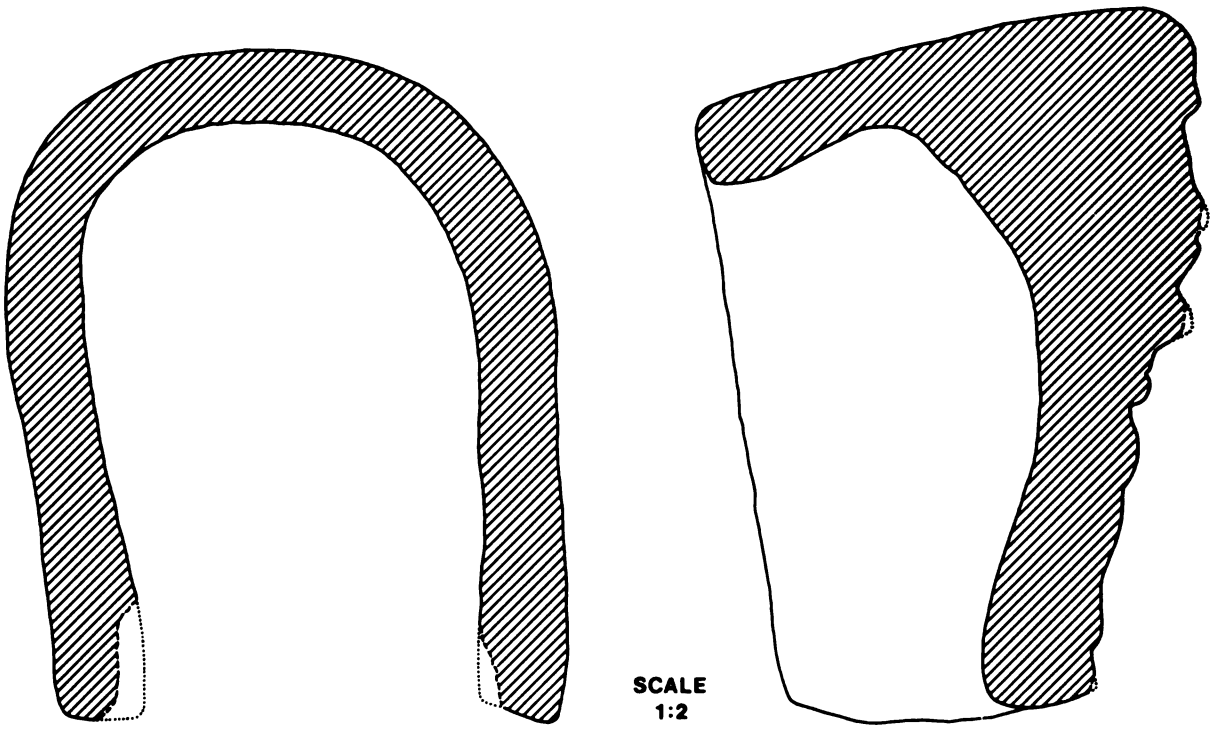

antefix, "attached to or inserted between some other architectural members, but where and precisely in what manner is uncertain". While the hook in the back of the female head, however unconventional this solution may seem, provided a real possibility of fixing it to the tile-roof, the Campanian examples constitute, to some extent, a parallel to the Stockholm piece; though we are, for the moment, unable to explain how it might have been affixed to the roof, we should perhaps not entirely dismiss the possibility.

While early Etruscan, female-head antefixes (before the end of the VI century B.C.) lack any kind of ornamental frame, letting the head merge directly into the cover-tile, as in the case of the Stockholm piece, there is, to my knowledge, no example of a truly corresponding Silenus antefix. Andrén discussed an early group of Sileni from Latium and southernmost Etruria, dated to the late VI and early V centuries.[4] However, though these antefixes lack a real nimbus, all of them show such extensive parts protruding around the head in the form of wreaths, berry clusters and the like as to give quite a different impression from that of the Stockholm Silenus which, like the early female-head antefixes, conforms directly to the shape of the "cover-tile".

Silenus antefixes without an ornamental frame are to be found in Sicily as well.[5] These differ in other, but no less important, respects from the Stockholm Silenus, not only from a stylistic but also from a functional point of view. Half the face, from the eyes downwards, hangs down below the bottom edges of the cover-tile, and one can hardly expect a closer association between these antefixes and the Stockholm piece. A better parallel, though that also has a part (from the mouth downwards) hanging down below, is an antefix from Capua, which shows a transition to the cover-tile closely reminiscent of that of the early female-head antefixes from Etruria.[6] But neither in that case is the formal agreement matched by a corresponding stylistic resemblance.

Still, the formal similarities with many, early Etruscan, female-head antefixes remain so striking that they cannot easily be referred to mere chance. If we are not dealing with a forgery (which, for a number of reasons, I am not inclined to believe), we must assume either that such Silenus antefixes actually did exist in Etruria, even though we have not found any as yet, or that the Stockholm Silenus was designed on the pattern of a female-head antefix.

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While the Stockholm Silenus is unusual, not to say unique, in form and function, it is no less remarkable from the iconographic point of view. The ears, whether small and human or long and folded around the forehead, differ completely from the tall, plastic ears rising more or less vertically from the heads of normal Sileni;[7] nor is there any counterpart to the long, protruding moustaches regularly occurring on Silenus antefixes, whichever part of the Hellenized world they may derive from.

The most remarkable feature is the protruding tongue, which is to be found only on a very small number of Silenus representations. Occasional examples are known from VII-century Thermon and VI-century Capua,[8] but they remain completely isolated. Iconographically, the protruding tongue is intimately associated with gorgons, including those found on antefixes.[9] It is undoubtedly from such gorgoneia that the extraordinary cases of protruding tongues in Sileni have been derived – perhaps inspired by representations of Sileni with a thick, strongly marked, lower lip,[10] which may have been misinterpreted as a short, protruding tongue and thus have encouraged a confusion with gorgons' tongues.[11]

Among more ordinary features are the shape of the beard and the hair. Plain, rounded beards, such as the one on the Stockholm piece, are to be found on a few Silenus antefixes from Latium and southern Etruria;[12] the vertical hair-tresses below the ears may be seen on early, female-head antefixes from Caere;[13] and forehead locks of a more or less similar kind are common in the Central Italic area.[14]

To sum up, while the function of the Stockholm piece remains dubious, a number of details, of a technical as well as a formal and stylistic nature, clearly indicate an origin in southern Etruria. The appearance of the clay and paint, the shape of the piece, and, not least, the vertical hair-tresses all point to the area of Cerveteri, which may well be the site where the piece was produced. The same features seem to favour a date around the third quarter of the VI century B.C.

[1] See, for instance, the female-head antefixes depicted (in colour) in M. Moretti, *Cerveteri*, Novara 1977, Figs. 89 and (for the violet paint, particularly) 91.

[2] A. Andrén, *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic tem-*

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ples (ActaRom-4°, 6), Lund & Leipzig 1940, p. CLXII. *Female head*: Ibid., pp. 501–502 no. I:16, Pls. 156:527 and G:4; *gorgoneion*; H. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*, Berlin 1912, p. 30, Fig. 39 (fragments from Capua and Cumae in Frankfurt am Main, Munich and Bonn).

[3] "Der Zweck ist Verf. unklar". But he quotes from a letter written by F. Oelmann: "Das Stück kann nicht von einem Stirnziegel herrühren, da jede Ansatzspur auf der Rückseite fehlt; sass vielleicht zwischen zwei Stirnziegeln?" (H. Koch [supra, n. 2], p. 30 n. 5).

[4] A. Andrén (supra, n. 2), pp. CLXVI-CLXVII. *Città Castellana* (p. 88 no. I:1, Pl. 27:95; p. 95 no. I:3, Pl. 29:102; p. 99 b, Pl. 32:113 left; p. 112 no. I:5); *Rome* (p. 330 no. I:11; p. 345 no. 1:3, Pl. 107:383); *Velletri* (p. 414 no. I:11); *Segni* (p. 398 no. I:2, Pl. 121:426); *Satricum* (pp. 468–469 nos. II:7–9, Pl. 145:505–507); *uncertain provenance* (p. 497 nos. I:3–4, Pl. 157:532 and 535).

[5] P. Orlandini, "Le nuove antefisse sileniche di Gela e il loro contributo alla conoscenza della coroplastica siceliota", *ArchCl* 6, 1954, Tav. LXXXVII.

[6] H. Koch (supra, n. 2), p. 70 nos. P. 324–330, Taf. XVIII:1*a–b*.

[7] One should perhaps not completely ignore the possibility that the folded "ears" are, instead, intended for horns – in which case we are not dealing with a Silenus at all but rather with the river-god Acheloos. On the close similarity between Etruscan representations of Sileni and Acheloos, cf. A. Andrén (supra, n. 2), pp. CXVIII and CLXXIII–CLXXIV, and O. J. Brendel, *Etruscan art*, Harmondsworth 1978, p. 233.

[8] P. Orlandini (supra, n. 5), p. 265, Tav. XC:1–2; H. Koch (supra, n. 2), p. 70, Tav. XVIII:1*a–b*.

[9] See, for instance, H. Koch (supra, n. 2), Taf. V–VII; *Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, Kopenhagen 1928, Taf. 15; A. Andrén (supra, n. 2), Pls. 10:32 and 36, 57:186, 68:219, 72:243, 143:498, 144:502, 156:523; C. Laviosa, "Le antefisse fittili di Taranto", *ArchCl* 6, 1954, Tavv. LXVIII–LXXI.

[10] See, for instance, *Bildertafeln* (supra, n. 9), Taf. 110, n. H. 248 (Caere, IV century B.C.?); A. Andrén (supra n. 2), Pls. 20:65 (Caere), 29:102 (Città Castellana), 154:520 (uncertain provenance); C. Laviosa (supra, n. 9), Tav. LXXVI:4 (Taranto, IV century B.C. or later).

[11] Another possible source of inspiration is the small part of the beard growing immediately below the lower lip, which is represented occasionally in a way slightly reminiscent of a protruding tongue. See A. Andrén (supra, n. 2), Pls. 2:3, 3:4 (Veii), 55:179 (Città Castellana), 63:206 (Orvieto), 145:506 (Satricum), 157:533 (uncertain provenance); *Etruscan culture. Land and people*, New York & Malmö 1962, Pl. 42 (lip beard painted red in contrast to an otherwise black beard); S. Haynes, *Etruscan sculpture*, London 1971, Pl. II; *L'Etruria mineraria*, Milano 1985, pp. 93–95 no. 373.

[12] A. Andrén (supra, n. 2), Pls. 2:3 (Veii), 55:179 (Città Castellana), 73:246 (Orvieto), 121:427 (Segni), 154:520, 157:533 (uncertain provenance).

[13] Exclusively from Caere? See, for instance, *Bildertafeln* (supra, n. 9), Taf. 66 no. H. 182; A. Andrén (supra, n. 2), Pls. 6:15–16 and 18, 18:54 and 56; N. A. Winter, "Archaic architectural terracottas decorated with human heads", *RM* 85, 1978, Taf. 11:1, 15:2; E. Rystedt, "An Etruscan antefix", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 15, 1980, Fig. 2; M. Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*, Roma & Bari 1981, Fig. 63.

[14] See particularly A. Andrén (supra, n. 2), Pls. 15:49 (Caere), 23:80 (Tarquinia), 57:189 (Narce), 85:298 (Populonia).

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The Etruscological Collections of Olof August Danielsson. II

Charlotte Wikander & Örjan Wikander

Two years ago, a preliminary presentation of the papers and primary material (mainly squeezes) of O. A. Danielsson relating to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* was made in this Bulletin.[1] After Danielsson's death in 1933, the entire documentary material was deposited in the University Library at Uppsala but in 1981 the squeezes were transferred to Medelhavsmuseet. The fundamental work of organizing this large, documentary material has been going on since then but is not yet finished – we estimate that at least one more year will be needed. Simultaneously, the process of determining which parts of the material will give additional information pertaining to lost or incompletely known Etruscan inscriptions is in progress. This second interim report is intended as an indication of the results that can be expected from the finished work.

On account of the present rebuilding of the premises at the Medelhavsmuseet, the question of the future housing of the Danielsson Collection has been temporarily adjourned. We hope, however, that the material in its entirety will be accessible to interested scholars in two years.

One item which has attracted particular interest is the so-called "Schedae Kellermann".[2] The Danish scholar Olaus Ch. Kellermann, who worked at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome until his untimely death in 1837, studied both Latin and Etruscan inscriptions and published a number of them in the Institute's *Bullettino*.[3] His notes, which came into the possession of the Berlin Academy, were eventually presented to Karl Pauli, the first editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum (CIE)*, and after his death to Danielsson.

The existence of these "Schedae Kellermann" was known to students of the Etruscan language, but for a long time they were considered to be lost. In 1984, however, they were recovered among the papers left by Danielsson to the University Library at Uppsala. The material was assembled within two paper folders containing manuscripts and notes written by Kellermann himself, together with some notes composed by other early nineteenth-century scholars. The contents of the schedae are mainly as follows:

1. Fifty-six pieces of paper of varying sizes, containing notes and copies of Etruscan inscriptions.
2. A large folio volume, containing 320 pages of notes and copies of Etruscan inscriptions cut out and mounted in alphabetical order. Mostly earlier published material.
3. Fifty-five handwritten pages of Etruscan inscriptions arranged according to locality (35 sites).
4. Special groups of Etruscan inscriptions:
   (*a*) Bilingues (2 pages).
   (*b*) Remarkable character shapes (4 pages).
   (*c*) Information on the age of the deceased (2 pages).
   (*d*) Inscriptions copied from plates in Micali's *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani* (2 pages).
5. Three paper squeezes.
6. Comments on the Etruscan characters, written in Danish (15 pages).
7. The original drawing of a plate published in the 1833 *Bullettino*.
8. "Excerpta e Sigismundi Titii Historia Senensi a Kramero scripta" (8 pages).

We have not made a close examination of the material, but our main impression is unfortunately not very encouraging. Further studies are, of course, necessary, but the chances of finding important, new information seem small. On the other hand, the material collected by Pauly, Danielsson and Herbig is all the more interesting. Not only does it contain squeezes, copies and

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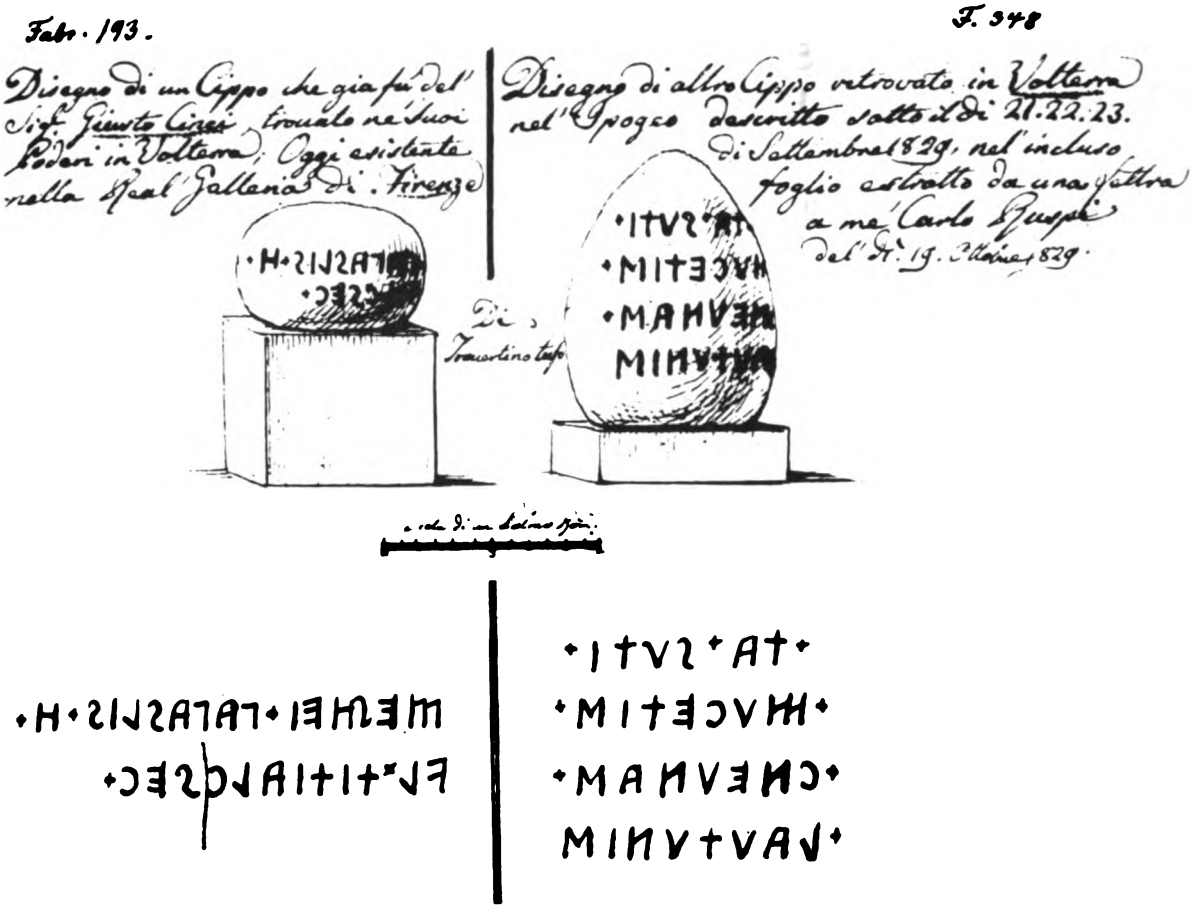

Drawings of two Etruscan cippi, the right one from Volterra (*CIE* 49) and the left one from the ager Clusinus (*CIE* 3067), made by Carlo Ruspi in 1829. Preserved among the *schedae Kellermann*.

discussions of the inscriptions published by those scholars in *CIE*, Vols. I and II:I:1–3, but also their preparations for the publication of inscriptions from southern Etruria. When this work was resumed by Italian scholars after the Second World War, no one knew of the existence of the material collected earlier, and the publication of *CIE* I:I:4 (1970) was completed without access to it. Thus, it seemed reasonable to assume that Danielsson's "collection of squeezes . . . includes several inscriptions now damaged or completely lost" and that his "detailed travel journals must contain important information also concerning inscriptions still awaiting final publication".[4] Now, two years later, we know that this hope was not vain.

In order to get an idea of what that material might contain, we made a preliminary study of the inscriptions from Tuscania. Cristofani published 124 inscriptions from that town (*CIE* I:I:4, 5683–5806), 16 of which were found in the 1960's. Of the remainder, almost all were discovered in the nineteenth century or earlier, but half of that group had long been lost. In as many as 53 cases, Cristofani was compelled to reprint the more or less dubious texts of early editors, such as Jahn, Campanari and Fabretti. The shapes of the characters of those inscriptions were, of course, mostly unknown, and, as for the content, later editors (including Cristofani himself) made great efforts to emend the texts.[5]

It now appears that Danielsson's collections include squeezes and discussions of no less than 22 of these lost inscriptions, thus providing at last a certain basis for a new edition. Also concerning the inscriptions still ex-

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tant, important information may be found. In some cases, letters now lost are clearly visible on squeezes made a century ago, in others Danielsson's comments may help us to decide between various possible readings.

In most cases, the additions to our knowledge are far from spectacular. Besides new information on material, measurements and the shapes of characters, the notes and squeezes normally serve to confirm the old readings, perhaps altering or adding a single letter. As a typical example may be cited the inscription now known as *CIE* 5784, which was published in the 1870's by Corssen and Fabretti (*CII* III 353). When Cristofani made his preparations for *CIE* I:I:4, it had long been lost, and he could only re-edit the text of Fabretti:

[---]*es . tutes*

At his visit, on June 27–28, 1890, to the gardens of the Casa Campanari at Toscanella (Tuscania), Danielsson recognized the inscription on a marble fragment. He tried to identify the letter immediately before the earlier published text, but in vain: "Vor dem Stein nicht zu entscheiden, nur *es . tutes* sichtbar."[6] However, he made a paper squeeze, and when studying that at home, he apparently thought he could read *pes . tutes*:

In 1903, when Herbig had received a grant for a long visit to Italy, Danielsson sent him detailed instructions as to what information he needed on various inscriptions. Concerning *CIE* 5784, Herbig confirmed Danielsson's reading, crossing out the question-mark written below the *p*. He also gave the exact measurements of the piece (max. W. 0.17 m., max. H. 0.095 m.) and added its location in the Campanari garden ("Wand II. Ecke").[7]

In other cases, the amount of information obtainable is considerably augmented. One example is the inscription on a cippus from Musarna, published by Orioli and Fabretti (*CII* III 340). It was included in *CIE* I:I:4 (5829), where Cristofani reports that the cippus has disappeared and gives Fabretti's version of the inscription:

aleϑ
na . lr
r.XXIIII
XX

Fabretti reported the cippus as being in the possession of one Sig. G. Bazzichelli. During his stay in Italy in 1886, Danielsson paid a visit to Sig. Bazzichelli at Viterbo to enquire after the cippus and other inscriptions in his collection. He reports that there were two Bazzichellis, father and son, and that the father, Giosafat, was a former *ispettore degli scavi* (hence the collection). His enquiries were fruitless, however – Sig. Bazzichelli "behauptete alles verschenkt zu haben". In 1903, Danielsson asked Herbig to enquire again and to investigate whether anything perhaps still remained in the Bazzichelli house – "falls der alte Mann noch am Leben ist".[8]

Herbig did indeed locate the cippus – not at the Bazzichelli's, but in the collection of Luigi Rossi Danielli, of Viterbo.[9] He reports the material of the cippus (*nenfro*) and the measurements (H. 0.18 m., max. L. 0.34 m.), and comments that it was a cippus "mit 2 Säulenansätzen".[10] He also made a squeeze of the inscription, as well as a sketch of the surface:

Herbig's examination showed that the earlier reading was incorrect ("Fa[bretti] Lesung bleibt mir z.T. unklar"): the beginning of the *n* in the first line appears clearly, and the first letter of the second line is a *ś* ("nach dem Original ganz sicher"). He also comments that the third letter of line 2 is too small to be interpreted as a *c*; the upper, horizontal bar of the *e* has been obliterated by the break. Herbig's reading, confirmed by the squeeze, is as follows:

aleϑn[as]
ś[---]r.e.r
c.r.XXIIII.
XX

The additional information to be found in Danielsson's collections, over and above the material published in *CIE* I:I:4, is apparently great. We are working for the

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moment on a publication which we hope will be ready for printing in a year or two. Until then, and until the collections are fully arranged and accessible, we shall try to provide any information wanted on this part of them, as well as on those parts related to material published earlier by Pauly, Danielsson and Herbig.

[1] Ö. Wikander, "The Etruscological collections of Olof August Danielsson", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20, 1985, pp. 73–76.

[2] Ö. Wikander (supra n. 1), p. 74, no. 1*a*.

[3] O. Kellermann, "Iscrizioni etrusche di Chiusi, – Corneto, – Ponte dell'Abbadia, – Toscanella, – Viterbo", *Bullettino dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 5, 1833, pp. 50–63. On Kellermann, cf. O. Jahn, *Specimen epigraphicum in memoriam Olai Kellermann*, Kiel 1841, and A. Michaelis, in *Geschichte des deutschen archäologischen Instituts 1829–79*, Berlin 1879, pp. 50–51 and 135.

[4] Ö. Wikander (supra n. 1), p. 75.

[5] Eleven of the lost inscriptions (mainly in Latin) were recovered in the 1970's (in the Museum at Tarquinia). See G. Colonna, in "Rivista di epigrafia etrusca", *StEtr* 40, 1972, pp. 414–415, no. 20; and M. Cristofani, in "Rivista di epigrafia etrusca", *StEtr* 46, 1978, pp. 382 and 385–388, nos. 146–155.

[6] *Travel journal* XV, p. 5, no. 24.

[7] *Frageheft* 1, p. 73, no. 24(24). Concerning the locations of various Etruscan antiquities in the Campanari garden of the nineteenth century, see G. Colonna, "Archeologia dell'età romantica in Etruria: i Campanari di Toscanella e la tomba dei Vipinana", *StEtr* 46, 1978, pp. 81–117, especially 104–109.

[8] *Frageheft* 1, p. 44.

[9] On Rossi Danielli as a prominent collector and archaeologist, cf. A. Emiliozzi, *La collezione Rossi Danielli nel Museo Civico di Viterbo* (Musei e collezioni d'Etruria, 1), Roma 1974, pp. 15–21.

[10] *Frageheft* 1, p. 45, no. 1(30).

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Coins of the Age of Constantine

Catalogue of a Collection

Bengt Peterson

An interesting pursuit for the connoisseur of numismatics is collecting coins of such a turbulent epoch as that of the Late Roman Empire, e.g. from the reform of coinage by Diocletian onwards till the end of the Constantine family some 75 years later. The coins are of fairly large size, however diminishing, and have clear images from good quality stamps. They are often well preserved and it is easy to determine the mint. Even if the designs are standardized and show few variations there are local features making it rewarding to follow the image of the emperor and the propaganda reverses from mint to mint, from London and Trier to Antioch and Alexandria; it is really a wide realm. The present catalogue is an inventory of a private Stockholm collection which, even if it may seem small and incomplete, contains many coins of interest and of rare types; to many of them parallels are seldom published. As a matter of convenience this catalogue has been limited to coins of the age of Constantine the Great, from 306 when he became Caesar till his death in 337.

The persons behind the portraits also have their fascinating history which makes the contemplation of such a collection especially interesting. In the actual catalogue one meets emperors like the senior *Diocletian* retired in 305 but still honoured, e.g. by the Antioch mint in 310–311; like *Maximinus II*, adoptive son of the farmer's boy Galerius Maximianus, emperor in 305–311, himself emperor in 310–313, dead shortly after his invasion of Thrace where he lost the battle and fled to Cilicia; like *Maxentius*, emperor in 306–312, son of Maximianus Herculius (who like Diocletian served from simple soldier to emperor, then reigning three times between 286 and 310), who himself was drowned in the Tiber in 312 during his flight after having lost his battle against Constantine in Rome; like *Licinius I*, emperor in 308–324, farmer's son from Dacia, adoptive son of Diocletian, married to Constantine's halfsister, often in opposition and revolt against Constantine, his fellow emperor, but at last murdered by Constantine in 325; and like *Constantine*, long-reigning sovereign, receiving at the end of his stormy life the Christian baptism.

Of lesser imperial rank are Caesars like *Licinius II*, his father the emperor with the same name but his mother a concubine, at four years of age Caesar, later sent as slave to Africa where he was murdered in about 336; like *Crispus*, Constantine's eldest son by a concubine, Caesar at about twelve years of age in 317, admiral of the fleet in the battles against Licinius I, murdered in 326, possibly by Constantine's second wife Fausta; like *Delmatius*, son of Constantine's half-brother, murdered after Constantine's death together with his father and brother; like *Constantinus*, Caesar already at his birth in 316 and finally emperor in 337–340, eldest son of Constantine and Fausta, at the end of his life in war with his brother Constans, and at last murdered in an ambush in Northern Italy.

Finally there are further royal persons like *Romulus*, son of Maxentius who, deified after his early death in 309, received a round temple in the Forum Romanun, still standing as entrance to the Church of SS Cosmas and Damian; and then the ladies like *Galeria Valeria*, daughter of Diocletian, married to Galerius Maximianus, sent to Syria as a widow having rejected the marriage proposal given by Maximinus II, at last murdered in Greece in 315 after years of ambulating life; like *Fausta*, Constantine's second wife, daughter of Maximianus Herculius, sister of Maxentius, murdered for high treason in 326, suspected for the murder of Crispus; and like, finally, *Helena*, Constantine's mother, first an innkeeper, then living with Constantius I giving birth to the emperor to be, leaving Constantius in 290, turning to Christianity, dying peacefully in

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Rome after a journey to the Holy Land and after having experienced most of the life-story of her son. Certainly one can find persons of considerable interest in a small collection like this. And if this is not enough, there are coins featuring symbols of cities like Rome and Constantinople, the second Rome. One may, however, never forget the crude human reality behind these symbols of power, the family dramas occasionally reflected in new issues of coins presenting new areas of dominance within a crumbling empire.

As this is a catalogue we do not want to dwell on various aspects of the coins which may also be of great interest. From the art historical point of view, however, it is interesting to note the development of the stylized portrait of the emperor, more symbol than portrait. As H. P. L'Orange has emphasized, the difference is also evident between West and East with the richer articulation, more individuality and nature of the West and the stereotype and simplified type of the East in which the eye plays the most important role. In the present material there is only one example of the very pregnant heavenward gaze of – in this case – Constantine, so significant of the age.

The catalogue is arranged topographically, following the mints from West to East, and then chronologically within the mints.

London

1. Aes, follis, 2.97 gm. 20 mm diameter.
312 (late) – 313.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: SOLI INV-IC–TO COMITI

Mintmark: $\frac{*|}{\text{PLN}}$

Sol standing left, chlamys over left shoulder, right hand raised, left hand holding globe. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VI, 140, 280.

2. Aes, follis, 3.40 gm. 20 mm diameter.
313–314.
Obv.: IMP LICINIVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: GENIO-POP ROM

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{S}|\text{F}}{\text{PLN}}$

Genius with modius standing left, loins draped with himation, patera in right hand, cornucopiae left. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 97,3.

3. Aes, follis, 3.27 gm. 18 mm diameter.
319–320.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTI-NVS AVG
Bust left with high-crested helmet, cuirassed, spear across right shoulder.
Rev.: VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP

Mintmark: $\frac{\boxtimes}{\text{PLN}}$

Two Victories standing facing one another, holding vota shield, inscribed VOT/PR in two lines, above altar. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 107, 158.

Trier

4. Aes, follis, 6.10 gm. 26 mm diameter.
307 (late) – 308.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{S}|\text{A}}{\text{PTR}}$

Mars naked but for chlamys, advancing right with shield and spear.
Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VI, 218, 776.

5. Aes, follis, 4.70 gm. 22–24 mm diameter.
310–313.
Obv.: IMP MAXIMINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: GENIO-POP ROM

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{T}|\text{F}}{\text{PTR}}$

Genius standing left, head towered, loins draped, right hand holding patera, left cornucopiae. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 226, 845 a.

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6. Aes, follis, 3.31 gm. 18 mm diameter.
319.
Obv.: IMP CONSTAN-TINVS MAX AVG
Bust right, laureate, helmeted, cuirassed.
Rev.: VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP

Mintmark: $\frac{*}{\text{STR}}$

Two Victories standing facing one another, together holding vota shield, inscribed VOT/PR in two lines, on altar. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 182, 213.

7. Aes, follis, 3.01 gm. 19 mm diameter.
321.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Bust right, helmeted, cuirassed.
Rev.: BEATA TRAN-QVILLITAS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{STR}}$

Globe set on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX and three stars above. Rev axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 190, 303.

8. Aes, follis, 2.97 gm. 17–19 mm diameter.
322.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Bust right, helmeted, cuirassed.
Rev.: BEATA TRAN-QVILLITAS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{STR}\cdot}$

Globe set on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX and three stars above. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 194, 341.

9. Aes, follis, 2.47 gm. 19 mm diameter.
322–323.
Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust right, laureate, trabea, eagle-tipped sceptre in right hand.
Rev.: BEATA TRAN-QVILLITAS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\cdot\text{PTR}\cdot}$

Globe set on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX and three stars above. Rev. axis ↑ .
Cf. *RIC VII*, 198, 385 (but there bust left).

10. Aes, follis, 3.17 gm. 19 mm diameter.
323.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Bust right, helmeted, cuirassed.
Rev.: BEATA TRAN-QVILLITAS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\cdot\text{PTR}\breve{}}$

Globe set on altar inscribed VOT/IS/XX and three stars above. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 199, 389.

11. Aes, follis, 2.81 gm. 18 mm diameter.
323–324.
Obv.: IVL CRIS-PVS NOB C
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: CAESARVM NOSTRORVM

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{PTR}\breve{}}$

Laurel wreath enclosing VOT/X (dot under O). Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 202, 440.

12. Aes, follis, 2.91 gm. 19 mm diameter.
323–324.
Obv.: IVL CRIS-PVS NOB C
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: CAESARVM NOSTRORVM

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{STR}\breve{}}$

Laurel wreath enclosing VOT/X. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 202, 440.

Lyons

13. Aes, follis, 4.69 gm. 23 mm diameter.
309–310.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: SOLI INVIC-TO COMITI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{F}\,\vert\,\text{T}}{\text{PLC}}$

Sol standing, right hand raised, left hand holding globe. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 265, 309, cf. 310.

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14. Aes, follis, 2.04 gm. 17 mm diameter.
333–334.
Obv.: VRBS-ROMA
Bust left, helmeted, imperial cloak.
Rev.: –

Mintmark: $\frac{}{*\mathrm{SLG}}$

She-wolf standing left, suckling twins; two stars above. Rev. axis ↑
RIC VII, 139, 267.

Arles

15. Aes, follis, 3.64 gm. 21 mm diameter.
318.
Obv.: CRISPVS NOB CAES
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: PRINCIPIA IV-VENTVTIS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\mathrm{Q}\,\dot{}\,\mathrm{A}}$

Mars standing left in military dress and chlamys and with spear and shield. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 250, 162.

16. Aes, follis, 2.92 gm. 20 mm diameter.
325–326.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\mathrm{PA}\,\breve{}\,\mathrm{RL}}$

Gateway with two turrets, star above; five stone layers. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 265, 286.

17. Aes, follis, 3.45 gm. 20 mm diameter.
328.
Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust left, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS

Mintmark: $\frac{\mathrm{S\ F}}{\mathrm{TCONST}}$

Gateway with two turrets, star above; six stone layers. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 269, 319.

18. Aes, follis, 2.66 gm. 17 mm diameter.
330–331.
Obv.: CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust right, rosette-diadem, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{*}{\mathrm{PCONST}}$

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 271, 345.

Ticinum

19. Aes, follis, 6.08 gm. 25 mm diameter.
307 (autumn) – 308 (spring)
Obv.: MAXENTIVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: CONSERV – VRB SVAE

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\mathrm{TT}}$

Roma seated facing left in hexastyle temple, holding globe and sceptre. Knobs as acroteria, pediment empty. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VI, 294, 95.

20. Aes, follis, 3.40 gm. 19 mm diameter.
322–325.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG

Mintmark: $\frac{\breve{}}{\mathrm{ST}}$

Laurel wreath enclosing VOT/XX (dot under O). Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 381, 167.

21. Aes, follis, 3.10 gm. 19 mm diameter.
326.
Obv.: FL HELENA-AVGVSTA
Bust right, diademed, mantled, necklace.
Rev.: SECVRITAS-REIPVBLICE

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\mathrm{P}\,\breve{}\,\mathrm{T}}$

Securitas standing left, holding branch, raising robe. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 387, 202.

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Aquileia

22. Aes, follis, 6.83 gm. 23 mm diameter.
307 (late summer).
Obv.: IMP C MAXENTIVS P F AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: CONSERV-VRB SVAE

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{AQS}}$

Roma seated facing left in hexastyle temple, holding globe and sceptre, shield at the side. Knobs as acroteria, wreath in pediment. Rev. axis ↘ .
RIC VI, 325, 116.

Rome

23. Aes, follis, 5.89 gm. 23–25 mm diameter.
307 (winter)–308.
Obv.: IMP C MAXENTIVS P F [AVG]
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: CONSERV-VRB SVAE

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{H}|}{\text{R}[\,]}$

Roma seated facing left in hexastyle temple, holding globe and sceptre, shield at the side. Victories as acroteria, wreath in pediment. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 377, 202 a.

24. Aes, small fraction, 1.77 gm. 16 mm diameter.
C. 310.
Obv.: DIVO ROMVLO N V BIS CONS
Head right, bare.
Rev.: AETERNAE-MEMORIAE

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{RT}}$

Domed shrine with doors ajar, surmounted by eagle. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 381, 239.

25. Aes, follis, 2.86 gm. 20 mm diameter.
314–315.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: SOLI IN-V-ICTO COMITI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{X}|\text{F}\ \text{RT}}$

Sol standing left, chlamys over left shoulder, right hand raised, left hand holding globe. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 299, 27.

26. Aes, follis, 3.63 gm. 20 mm diameter.
315.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: SOLI INV-I-CTO COMITI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{S}|\text{F}}{\text{RP}}$

Sol standing left, chlamys over left shoulder, right hand raised, left hand holding globe. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 299, 33.

27. Aes, follis, 3.01 gm. 18 mm diameter.
315–316.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: SOLI IN-VI-CTO COMITI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{C}|\text{S}}{\text{RT}}$

Sol standing left, chlamys over left shoulder, right hand raised, left hand holding globe. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 300, 40.

28. Aes, follis, 3.33 gm. 19 mm diameter.
317–318.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: SOLI INV-I-CTO COMITI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{RT}}$

Sol standing left, chlamys over left shoulder, right hand raised, left hand holding globe. Rev. axis. ↓ .
RIC VII, 309, 97.

29. Aes, follis, 2.24 gm. 1.9 mm diameter.
330.
Obv.: CONSTANTI-NOPOLIS
Bust left, laureate, helmeted, imperial cloak, reversed spear.
Rev.: –

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{⋛}}{\text{RFE}}$

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Victory standing left on prow, holding spear and shield. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 336, 332.

Ostia

30. Aes, follis, 5.38 gm. 25 mm diameter.
309–312.
Obv.: IMP C MAXENTIVS P F AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: AETE-RNITAS-AVG N

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{MOSTS}}$

Castor and Pollux, each with star above cap, naked, chlamys hanging from shoulders, standing facing each other, each leaning on sceptre, holding bridled horse. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 404, 35.

Siscia

31. Aes, follis, 3.12 gm. 21–23 mm diameter.
313–315.
Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: IOVI CONS-ERVATORI AVGG NN

Mintmark: $\frac{\vert\,\Delta}{\text{SIS}}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre, Victory on globe in right hand, eagle with wreath to left. Rev. axis ↑ .
Cf. *RIC VII*, 423,3, but the present bust not recorded.

32. Aes, follis, 2.14 gm. 19 mm diameter.
320.
Obv.: CONST-ANTINVS AVG
Bust right, helmeted, cuirassed.
Rev.: VIRTVS-EXERCIT

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{S}\vert\text{F}\;\;\text{H}}{\text{ASIS}\,\text{*}}$

Standard inscribed VOT/XX ;captive kneeling on ground on either side. Rev. axis ↗ .
RIC VII, 440, 127.

33. Aes, follis, 2.95 gm. 18 mm diameter.
321–324.
Obv.: IVL CRIS-PVS NOB C
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: CAESARVM NOSTRORVM

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{ASIS}}$ ⩙

Laurel wreath enclosing VOT/X (dot under O). Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 446, 181.

34. Aes, follis, 4.02 gm. 20 mm diameter.
328–329.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{ASIS}}$ ⌓

Campgate with two turrets, star above, ten stone layers. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 452, 214.

35. Aes, follis, 2.11 gm. 18 mm diameter.
330–333.
Obv.: VRBS ROMA
Bust left, helmeted, imperial cloak.
Rev.: –

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\Gamma\text{SIS}}$

She-wolf standing left, suckling twins; two stars above. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 453, 222.

Heraclea

36. Aes, follis, 5.67 gm. 24 cm diameter.
C. 310.
Obv.: GAL VAL-ERIA AVG
Bust right, diademed, draped.
Rev.: VENERI V-ICTRICI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{*}\vert}{\text{HTA}}$

Venus standing, head left, right hand holding apple, left raising drapery. Rev. axis ↖ .
RIC VI, 537, 50.

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37. Aes, follis, 3.23 gm. 20 mm diameter.
317.
Obv.: IMP LICI-NIVS AVG
Bust left, laureate, draped, globe, sceptre and mappa.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{MHT}\Delta}{}$

Campgate with three turrets, six stone layers. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 545, 17.

38. Aes, follis, 2.87 gm. 20 mm diameter.
321–324.
Obv.: D N VAL LICIN LICINIVS NOB C
Bust left, helmeted, cuirassed, spear and shield.
Rev.: IOVI CONS-ERVATORI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{X}\quad \text{II}\Gamma \quad \text{SMH}\Delta}{}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand, eagle with wreath to left. Captive to right. Rev. axis ↑ .
Cf. *RIC VII*, 548, 54, but the present bust not recorded.

39. Aes, follis, 3.06 gm. 18 mm diameter.
324.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{*}\quad \text{SMH}\Delta}{}$

Laurel wreath enclosing VOT/XX (dot under O). Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 549, 60.

40. Aes, follis, 2.66 gm. 18 mm diameter.
330–333.
Obv.: CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust right, rosette-diadem, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{\quad \text{SMHA}}{}$ (the mark is difficult to read because of its misplaced position; it could be SMH Δ or even SMNA or SMN Δ, in the N case it means that the coin is from Nicomedia, cf. *RIC VII*, 633, 188).

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 557, 111.

Thessalonica

41. Aes, follis, 2.65 gm. 19 mm diameter.
324.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG

Mintmark: $\frac{\quad \text{TS E VI}}{}$

Laurel wreath enclosing VOT/XX (dot under O). Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 513, 123 (for difficulties assigning this and similar issues cf. 510, 101, note).

42. Aes, follis, 3.24 gm. 19 mm diameter.
326–328.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{|*}\quad \text{SMTSB}}{}$

Campgate with two turrets, one star above, six stone layers. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 518, 153.

43. Aes, follis, 2.72 gm. 19 mm diameter.
336–337.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINOPOLIS
Bust left, laureate, helmeted, imperial cloak, reversed spear.
Rev.: –

Mintmark: $\frac{\quad \text{SMTS}\Delta}{}$

Victory standing left on prow, holding spear and shield. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 530, 230, but the present officina letter unrecorded.

Constantinople

44. Aes, follis, 2.79 gm. 18 mm diameter.
328.
Obv.: CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG

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Head right, rosette-diadem, looking upwards.
Rev.: CONSTANTINI-ANA DAFNE

Mintmark: $\frac{\Delta|}{\text{CONS}}$

Victory standing on cippus, palmbranch in each hand, looking right. Kneeling captive at the left, spurned by Victory. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 574, 32.

45. Aes, follis, 2.62 gm. 19 mm diameter.
330–333.
Obv.: CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust right, rosette-diadem, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{CONSA}}$

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↘ .
RIC VII, 579, 59.

46. Aes, follis, 2.56 gm. 17 mm diameter.
330–333.
Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{CONSA}}$ (the officina letter may possibly alternatively be read Γ).

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 579, 60.

47. Aes, follis, 2.57 gm. 18 mm diameter.
330–333.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINOPOLI
Bust left, laureate, helmeted, imperial cloak, reversed spear.
Rev.: –

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{CONSIA}}$

Victory standing left on prow, holding spear and shield. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 579, 63.

Nicomedia

48. Aes, follis, 3.28 gm. 20 mm diameter.
317–320.
Obv.: IMP LICI-NIVS AVG
Bust left, laureate, draped, globe, sceptre and mappa.
Rev.: IOVI CONS-ERVATORI AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{☙}|\text{A}}{\text{SMN}}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 604, 24.

49. Aes, follis, 3.35 gm. 19 mm diameter.
317–320.
Obv.: D N VAL LICIN LICINIVS NOB C
Bust right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{☙}|\dot{\text{E}}}{\text{SMN}}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 605, 34.

50. Aes, follis, 2.87 gm. 18 mm diameter.
321–324.
Obv.: IMP C FL VAL CONSTANTINVS P F AVG
Bust right, radiate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: IOVI CONS-ERVATORI

Mintmark: $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{II}\,\text{P}\!\!\checkmark\;\text{SMN}\,\Delta}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand. Eagle with wreath to left. Captive to right. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 607, 43.

51. Aes, follis, 3.08 gm. 20 mm diameter.
324–325.
Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust left, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMN}\Gamma}$

Campgate with two turrets and one star above, six stone layers. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 615, 93.

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Cyzicus

52. Aes, follis, 3.21 gm. 20 mm diameter.
C. 312–313.
Obv.: IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS P F AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: IOVI CONS-ERVATORI

Mintmark: $\frac{|\mathsf{S}}{\mathrm{SMK}}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand, eagle with wreath to left. Rev. axis ↓ .
Cf. *RIC VI*, 594, 105 a.

53. Aes, follis, 2.67 gm. 18–20 mm diameter.
329–330.
Obv.: CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust right, rosette-diadem, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\mathrm{SMK\,E}}$

Campgate with two turrets, (star above destroyed) seven stone layers. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 653, 61.

54. Aes, follis, 2.57 gm. 18 mm diameter.
332–335.
Obv.: VRBS-ROMA
Bust left, helmeted, imperial cloak.
Rev.: –

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\cdot\mathrm{SMKS}}$

She-wolf, standing left, suckling twins; two stars above. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 657, 105.

55. Aes, follis, 1.70 gm. 16 mm diameter.
336–337.
Obv.: FL IVL DELMATIVS NOB C
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR··IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\mathrm{SMK\,\Gamma}}$

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them one standard. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 660, 145.

Antioch

56. Aes, follis, 6.31 gm. 23 mm diameter.
310–311.
Obv.: D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG
Bust right, laureate, imperial mantle, olive-branch and mappa.
Rev.: PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVG

Mintmark: $\frac{\breve{\mathrm{A}}}{\mathrm{ANT}}$

Providentia standing right, leaning on sceptre, extending right hand to Quies standing left, giving branch. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 639, 149 (but this officina letter unrecorded).

57. Aes, follis, 4.46 gm. 20 mm diameter.
312.
Obv.: IMP [C GAL] VAL MAXIMINVS P F AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: IOVI CONS-ERVATORI

Mintmark: $\frac{*|\Delta}{\mathrm{ANT}}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VI, 643, 166 b.

58. Aes, follis, 4.17 gm. 19 mm diameter.
313–314.
Obv.: IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS P F AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: IOVI CONSER-VATORI AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{\overset{\curlyvee}{\underset{\wedge}{\mathrm{A}}}|\,\mathrm{III}}{\mathrm{ANT}}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand, eagle with wreath to left. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 676, 8.

59. Aes, follis, 3.90 gm. 20 mm diameter.
325–326.
Obv.: FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Bust left, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS

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Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMANTH}}$

Campgate with two turrets, one star above, ten stone layers. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 688, 66.

60. Aes, follis, 3.47 gm. 20 mm diameter.
326–327.
Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust left, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE CAESS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMANTS}}$

Campgate with two turrets, one star above, eight stone layers. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 690, 73.

61. Aes, follis, 3.54 gm. 18 mm diameter.
327–328.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, rosette-diadem.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMANT E}}$

Campgate with two turrets, one star above, ten stone layers. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 691, 78.

62. Aes, follis, 2.77 gm. 20 mm diameter.
327–328.
Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG
Head right, rosette-diadem.
Rev.: PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMANTZ}}$

Campgate with two turrets, one star above, eleven stone layers. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 691, 78.

63. Aes, follis, 2.15 gm. 18 mm diameter.
330–333.
Obv.: CONSTANTI-NVS MAX AVG
Bust right, rosette-diadem, draped, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMAN}\Gamma}$

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 693, 86.

64. Aes, follis, 3.04 gm. 17 mm diameter.
335.
Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMANS}}$

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 693, 87.

65. Aes, follis, 2.02 gm. 17–18 mm diameter.
335.
Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{}{\text{SMANS}}$

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 693, 87.

Alexandria

66. Aes, follis, 3.41 gm. 22 mm diameter.
315.
Obv.: IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS P F AVG
Head right, laureate.
Rev.: IOVI CONSER-VATORI AVGG

Mintmark: $\frac{\Gamma \mid N}{\text{ALE}}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Victory on globe in right hand, eagle with wreath to left. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 705, 10.

67. Aes, follis, 1.93 gm. 20 mm diameter.
317–320.
Obv.: D N VAL LICIN LICINIVS NOB C
Bust left, laureate, draped, globe, sceptre and mappa.

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Rev.: IOVI CONSER-VATORI CAESS

Mintmark: $\frac{\cup|B}{SMAL}$

Jupiter standing left, chlamys, leaning on sceptre. Globe in right hand. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 707, 25.

68. Aes, follis, 3.45 gm. 19 mm diameter.
325–326.
Obv.: FLAV MAX-FAVSTA AVG
Head right, bare, waved hair, mantle, necklace.
Rev.: SPES REIP-VBLICAE

Mintmark: $\frac{\quad}{SMALA}$

Salus standing to front, looking left, veiled, two children in her arms. Rev. axis ↑ .
RIC VII, 709, 40.

69. Aes, follis, 2.28 gm. 18 mm diameter.
333–335.
Obv.: FL IVL CONSTANTINVS NOB C
Bust right, laureate, cuirassed.
Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS

Mintmark: $\frac{\quad}{SMALB}$

Two helmeted soldiers standing with spear and shield looking at each other; between them two standards. Rev. axis ↓ .
RIC VII, 711, 60.

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London

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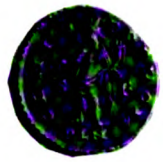

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Trier

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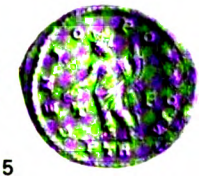

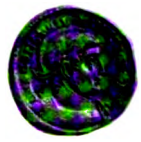

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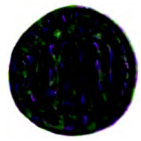

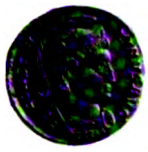

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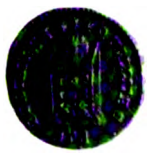

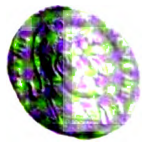

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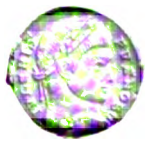

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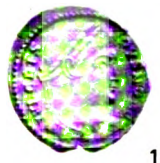

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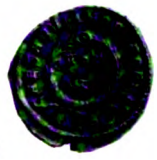

Lyons

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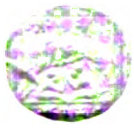

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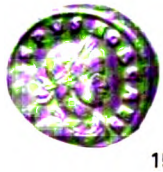

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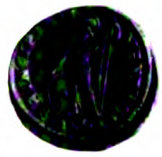

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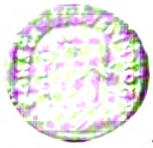

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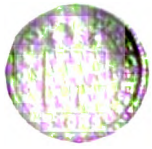

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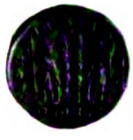

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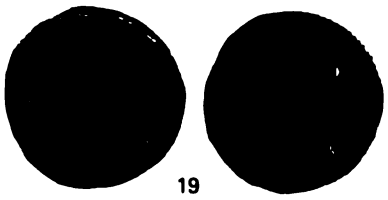
Ticinum



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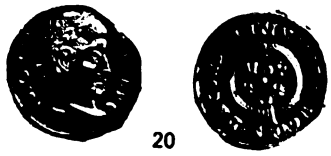

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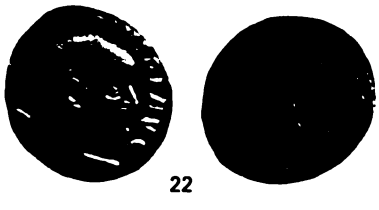
Aquileia



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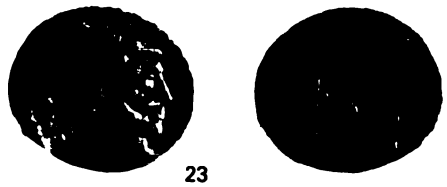
Rome



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Ostia

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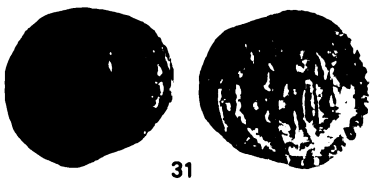
Siscia



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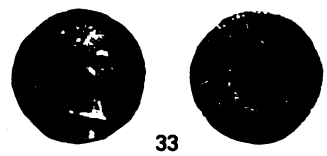

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Heraclea

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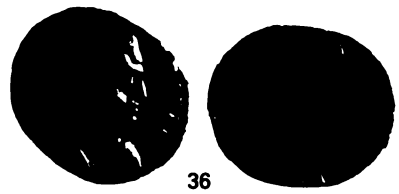

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Thessalonica

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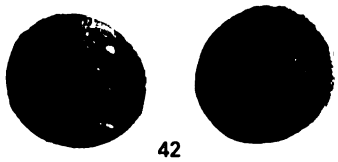

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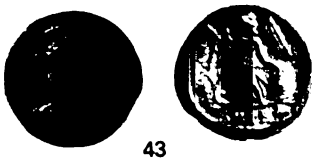
Constantinople



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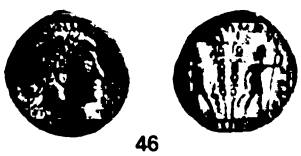

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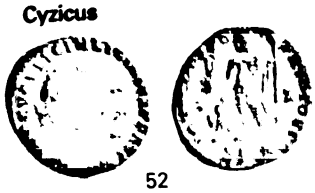

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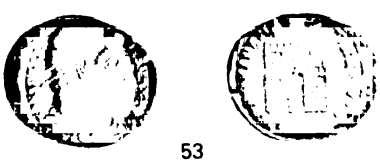

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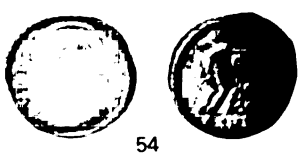

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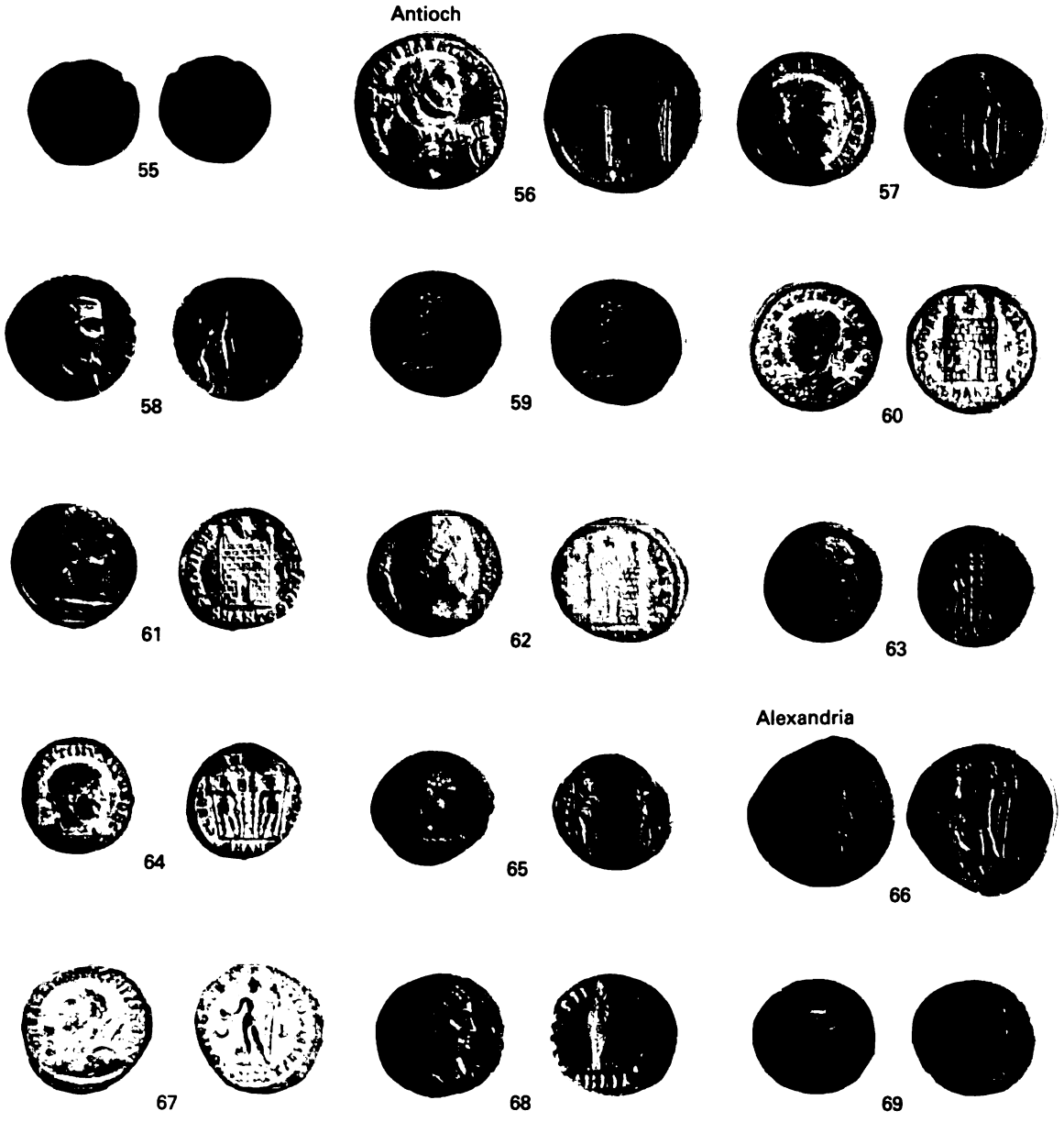

The coins were photographed by Gunnel Jansson.

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An 18th Century View of the Forum Romanum

Bengt Peterson

One of the most touching moments in Puccini's Tosca is the opening of the third act. Rome wakes up, the twilight approaches. The herdsboy comes with his cattle. Bells are chiming in a cascade of variations. It is June 1800. The song of the boy vanishes. The chiming is triumphant.

At this time Rome is a rural city with rather few inhabitants. The old centre of the ancient city, the Forum Romanum, is now called *Campo vaccino* and is the cattle market. The remains of Imperial Rome are buried and covered by flowers and vineyards. During the 18th century the Romantic mood explores this very special milieu and the burden of the sentimental age is preserved into the modern epoch. Key persons for the understanding of Italy and Rome like Jacob Burckhardt and Ferdinand Gregorovius complain about the deterioration of this Romantic heritage and criticize again and again the archaeological investigations of Rome and the building activity of the new capital. Still in 1855 the British Richard Deakin could publish his *Flora of the Colosseum* describing 400 species covering the ruin. Some 30 years later Gregorovius – after having witnessed archaeological excavations razing the ground – mentions with disdain the sterile fields of ruins: *Ueberall starren öde, geistlose, namenlose, unförmliche Ruinen empor*. However, one can still return to the Rome of the sentimental travellers, to Tosca's Rome, to the cattle herds' Rome; let us study one of the charming pictures, one of the *ricordi di Roma*, so often brought home from the South.

Before us lies an outline drawing of the second half of the 18th century, heightened by light water colours, 31.5 × 43 cm. It is a little bit weathered and battered but gives anyhow an enchanting view of the Forum Romanum as travellers used to meet it at their first visit. One must assume that the view was not drawn on the spot as it represents a selection only of the contemporary buildings; the main purpose was the portrayal of the ancient ruins enlivened by figures in the landscape, chatting people, a horseman, a wheelcart and various groups; there are also several impossible foreshortenings in this wide angle perspective, further discrepancies in the actual contemporary appearance of the buildings. Most of this type of views are inspired by existing engravings which were widely distributed and allowed copying far from the actual place. But nevertheless we still see what the traveller saw, when after his return he dreamed during long winter nights of the marvels of the South, of Rome and its delights.

Follow us on a stroll into the picture! The weather is promising, breakfast has been good after a hot night, we have brought some refreshments and begin at the left hand side with the arch of Septimius Severus. It is not that easy to cross the meadow; bushes and fallen marbles are plentiful; look at that magnificent capital! The arch was inaugurated in 203; the emperor's victories in the Orient are emphasized in its decorations; we can still read the inscription's "conqueror of Parthian vassals in Arabia and Adiabene"; some of the reliefs give us a picture of the military turmoil in the East – on the Tigris and at Ctesiphon.

Standing at the corner of the arch we discover a fascinating row of columns. On our way we meet an ox-cart and find some people on a bank made of a marble slab. Are they *sbirri*, the three men walking away in direction of the arch? And what a church is hidden behind the classical columns? The columns are partly buried in the soil. The artist has not rendered the inscription on the architrave quite correctly; it should read DIVO. ANTONIO. ET DIVAE. FAVSTINAE. EX. S.C., "To the deified Antoninus and to the deified Faustina, by decree of the Senate". Erected in 140–141,

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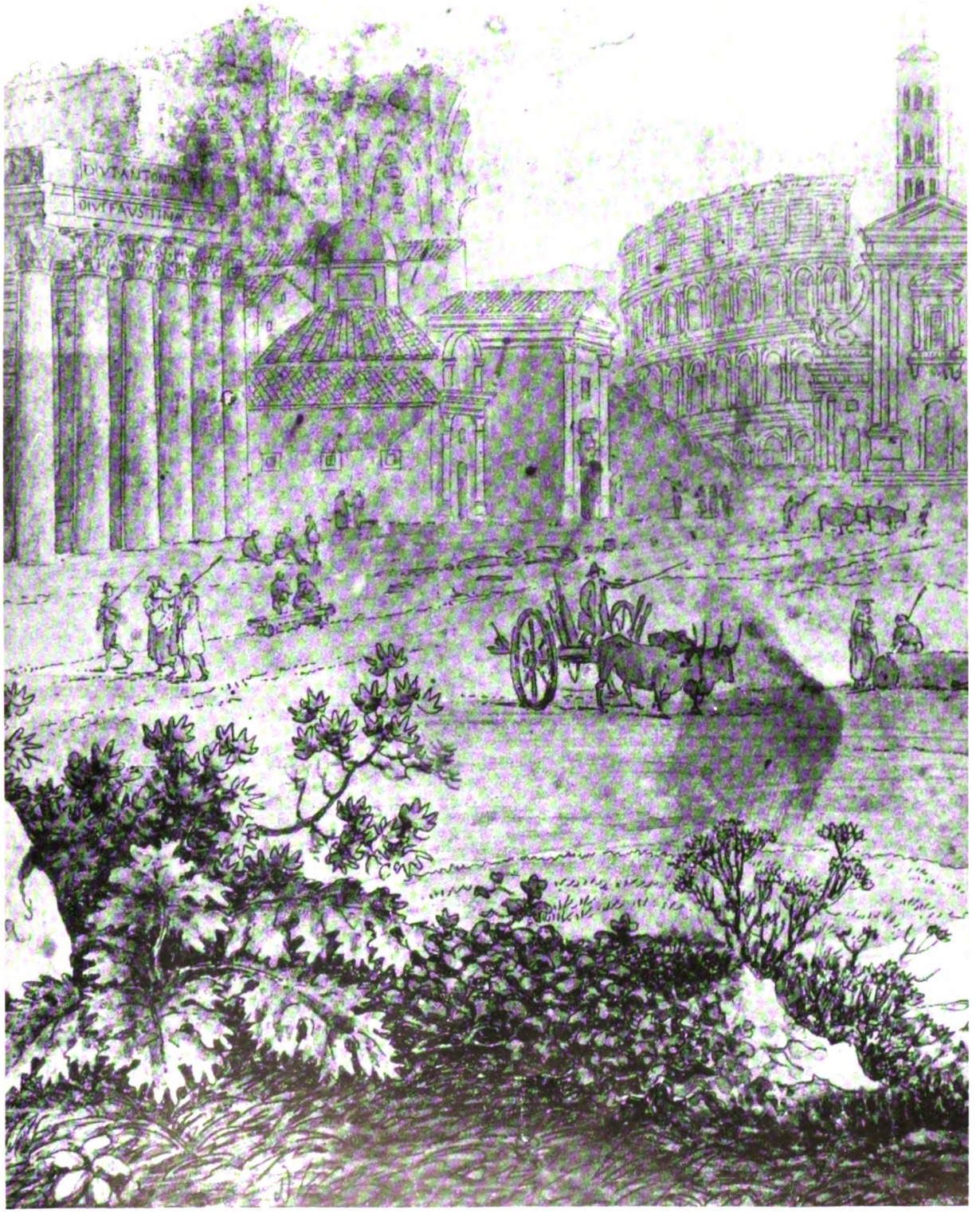

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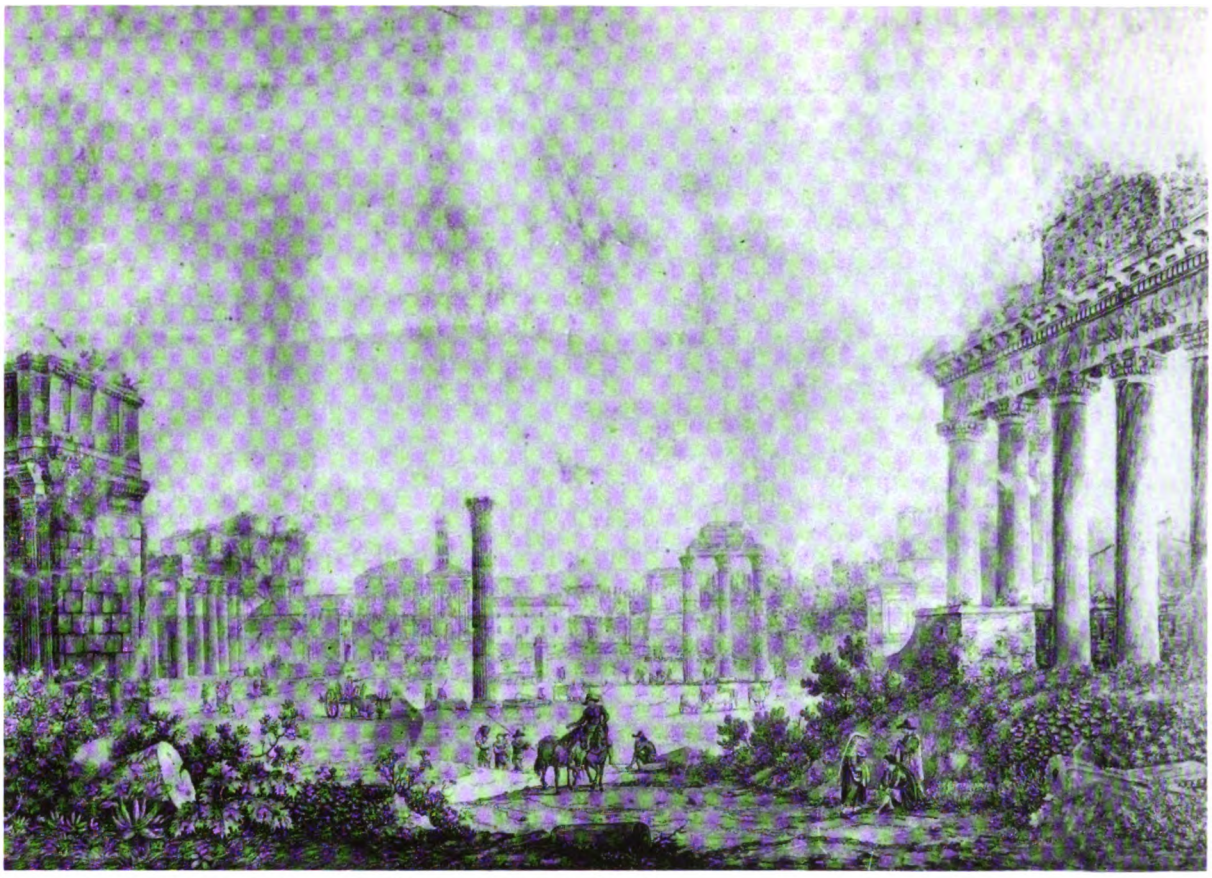

Coloured outline drawing, 31.5 × 43 cm. Private collection, Stockholm.

dedicated by Antoninus Pius to his deceased wife and after his death in 161 also to him, it is one of the ancient buildings on the Forum transformed into a church. It was already before the 12th century and it was dedicated to S. Lorenzo in Miranda. Its baroque façade of 1602 appears behind the columns. In 1807–1810 the columns were totally excavated. They are 17 m. high.

The next building is a curious round structure. This is a memorial temple erected by Maxentius for his son Romulus who died at an early age in 309 – it is already pictured on the contemporary memorial coins, an eagle flying at its top. This temple with its remarkable preserved bronze doors was also converted to Christian use. Pope Felix IV took care of it in 526–530 and made it the vestibule of the church of SS Cosmas and Damian just behind it. It was remodelled in the 17th century and finally restored in 1879–1880. To the same antique complex belonged also the small house at its side. Its look as we see it in the picture is from soon after 1750 when Benedict XIV converted this eastern of two apsed sidehalls at the rotunda and built it as the Oratorio della Via Crucis. But this chapel was destroyed at the restoration work in the Forum in 1877–1879, the side columns now standing alone.

It is a long way to walk before we reach the Colosseum. It is not that near as it looks like in the picture. Behind the Romulus temple dominates the huge brick-built basilica of Constantine, founded by Maxentius in about 306–310 but finished by Constantine after 313. A fine refreshing shade awaits the wanderer under its vaults. The Colosseum will be left for another day's stroll; standing since 80 when Titus had it inaugurated it will be there tomorrow, too. So we turn to the Santa Francesca Romana with its mediaeval bell tower. The church is a Maria church but the other name dominated always. Now, we can admire its baroque façade, even with sculptures in the Palladian manner; it is of 1612. Following the adjoining buildings (to disappear in the 19th century) we reach a vault through which we catch a glimpse of the blue mountains. This vault is that of a

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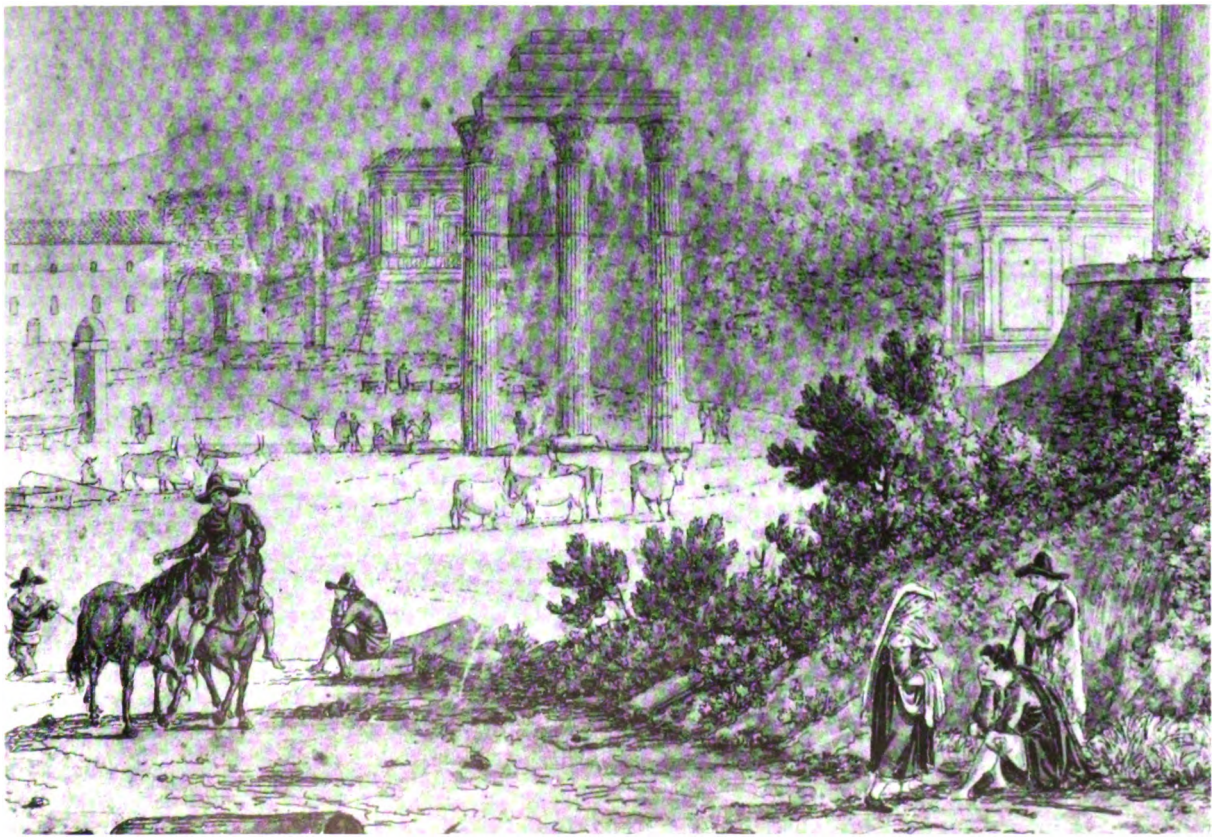
Roman emperor's triumphal arch, the arch of Titus. During the mediaeval period it was incorporated in a fortification and heavily destroyed. Titus took Jerusalem in 70 and the arch with reliefs picturing his battles was dedicated to him after his death in 81. It was dismantled and restored in the 1820's.

Well, a stop may be fine for a meal *alla fresca*. What could be nicer than to find a spot in the Farnese gardens. At the time of our wandering they were mostly vineyards and cabbage gardens; a little water and the noise of the cattle outside the wall make us think of olden days, the time before the Forum when the place was swampy, "*hic ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes*" as we remember from Ovid. Just a little bit from the Titus arch is the magnificent gate by Vignola, made in the 16th century together with the garden wall (the gate and wall were dismantled in 1881–1882; the gate was re-erected as late as in 1958 at the east side of the hill). The gardens were laid out in the mid 16th century just on the ruins of the palace of Tiberius. From 1731 they belonged to the Bourbons of Napoli who sold them to Napoleon III in 1860. Then the excavations began, destroying much of the garden architecture like the towers we observe at the corner of the wall and higher up in the terrain. It is quiet and peaceful here for a while, separated from the hustle and bustle of the cattle market outside.

Walking again we must admire the three columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux dedicated already in 484 BC but rebuilt hundreds of year later. If the beautiful columns are of the time of Tiberius or Hadrian is still discussed. Now, on our picture, one has been obliged to tie them together with an iron belt to prevent their falling.

The traveller must remember the church at the foot of the gardens in a different way. Here the draughtsman has forgotten to give it its baroque façade of the early 17th century when this mediaeval church was rebuilt. This is the Santa Maria Liberatrice. It greatest treasure is far below in the ground. It was built on the smaller church Santa Maria Antiqua with unique early Christian frescoes. Therefore the whole church was



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pulled down in 1900–1901 to allow the excavation of its predecessor. The Liberatrice was as Burckhardt put it the Forum's "*letzte malerische Kulisse*".

Not far from the church was the Clivus Capitolinus, the normal paved street for all 18th and 19th century visitors to the Forum. It came down just along the temple of Saturn which we can behold as the imposing ruin to the right in the picture. Here Saturn's image was once kept, the one which was carried in the triumphal processions. In underground vaults the state treasure was kept. As the inscription on the architrave tells us the temple was rebuilt by the Senate and the Roman people after a fire: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS INCENDIO CONSVMPTVM RESTITVIT, (the artist has forgotten the P in CONSVMPTVM). This was in the early 4th century. Just below the temple we stop for a chat with the men and the woman – in her beautiful Roman dress – and we learn that the inner part of the temple was destroyed long ago (in the early 15th century) and that buildings actually were more plentiful and larger earlier in the area – like the remnants in the temple proper in the picture. It could

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astonish to compare a corresponding *veduta* by Piranesi and see the real condition of the temple ruin. A huge three-storey house was built in the cella area. The stone structure projecting between the columns was the place for a nice pergola; just at the corner the inhabitants could sit among pot-flowers and vines enjoying the view of the Forum, cattle grazing just below.

There are in fact many difficulties consulting old pictures as well as maps. Sometimes buildings are reproduced, sometimes they are just left out. We must remember that many pictures like the actual one are selections of the highlights of a place. We shall meet this problem when we are confronted with the central part of the picture. On our way to the huge single column so centrally placed we meet a horseman with a spare horse and a family in colourful dresses. Just behind the column is the centre of the cattle market, the fountain from 1593 with its large granite bowl (now placed in front of the Quirinal palace, still a fountain). The column is the last monument of the Roman empire on the Forum. It was erected – taken from another use – in 608 by Bonifatius IV as thanks to the emperor Phocas for his permission to convert the Pantheon to ecclesiastical use. On top of it stood once the gilt statue of the emperor. On many pictures and maps from the 16th to the 18th centuries we can observe serveral small buildings at the column. There were a small mediaeval tower, later used as licence office for the cattle market, and the reused remains of the church of SS Sergio and Baccho, taken out of use in the 16th century. Some of the buildings fell into disuse and were overgrown and covered by soil and débris; much of these remnants was razed to the ground during the early excavations in the 19th century. Thus we are always confronted by topographical problems studying old pictures. Nevertheless they give us some enhancing hours, meditating on ancient times and modern exploration, on the change of everything, and, above all, renewed possibilities to voyages in the mind.

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Swedish Classical Archaeology 1986

A Bibliography

Since the 1940's the Swedish Archaeological Society (P.O. Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm) has regularly been publishing the *Swedish Archaeological Bibliography*, listing papers and publications by Swedish scholars as well as by foreign scholars working in Sweden. In 1983, this bibliography changed its name to *Swedish Archaeology*. The first volume under the new name covered the time span 1976–1980. A second volume, *Swedish Archaeology 1981–1985*, is now in print. The change of name was caused by the appearance of *Nordic Archaeological Abstracts (NAA)*, an annual bibliographical publication on Nordic archaeology, which made it possible for the Archaeological Society to change the character of its publication towards more of an analytical discussion (attempting to present current trends in the field of archaeology) and less of a traditional bibliography. For the section on Classical archaeology (including ancient art and architecture as well as history), there existed, however, no equivalent to the *NAA*. To fill this gap, annual bibliographical lists are planned to appear in this Bulletin. The present list for the year 1986 has been compiled from titles collected by Dr Berit Wells (Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean) and by Mrs Charlotte Wikander & Dr Örjan Wikander (Italy and the Western Mediterranean). Unintentional omissions, which presumably occur in this list, will be included in next year's issue.

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Activities 1986–1987

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period from 1 July 1986 to 30 June 1987, the activities of the Museum had partly to be reduced, as the building programme of the National Board of Public Building (see *Bulletin* 21, 1986) started in the early autumn of 1986. The Islamic exhibition had then to be closed and at the end of the year all the reserve collections of the Graeco-Roman and Egyptian departments had to be packed. Because of the vibration from the heavy work in the basement, all fragile objects in the exhibited collections including the Cypriote Ajia Irini group had to be removed. Part of the Egyptian and Cypriote exhibited collections had also to be closed, but the rest of the Museum was open to the public all the year.

At the beginning, the building programme was supposed to finish in the spring of 1988, but the work has been delayed. Moreover the National Board of Public Building has also started an interior renovation of all the premises of the Museum, including a restoration of the magnificent central hall.

When the Museum moved to a former bank at Gustav Adolf square in 1982, this location was considered provisional for a period of five years. With the present extensive building programme, it becomes clear that the Museum will stay in the present premises for many years. Therefore it has been decided to undertake changes in the disposition of the permanent exhibitions. Thus the exhibition area earlier used for the Islamic collection will now be devoted to Greek material, while the Islamic exhibition will later move to the present library on the first floor. The library will move to the previous work-rooms. With the new exhibition of Egyptian tombs and mummies, the new hall for temporary exhibitions and the new Islamic exhibition, the Museum will increase its previous exhibition area by 30 per cent.

Among acquisitions to the Museum, the Egyptian Department has received a small head of a man sculptured in wood from the Old Kingdom. Other gifts were a vessel of the Graeco-Roman period, two Coptic textiles and various small objects, scarabs, seals and amulets, some of unusual types. Among purchases were a miniature sculpture in faïence of the god Patek and a modern woven textile with figure motifs.

The Graeco-Roman Department has, during the year, received a Hellenistic standing, draped female terracotta figurine from Canosa in Apulia. It is painted in a polychrome technique and has a high handle. It much resembles a number of big face vessels from Canosa with high handles decorated with standing female figures.

Exhibition activity continued. During the period from 26 June to 10 August 1986, the exhibition "The Face of Classical Antiquity" was shown. It consisted of 24 portrait sculptures from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.

During the period from 19 September to 23 November 1986, the exhibition "The Etruscans" was shown in collaboration with the Soprintendenza delle Antichità of Southern Etruria. The exhibition consisted of a number of fragments of Etruscan terracotta friezes from the collections of the Department of Classics of Uppsala University together with objects from the collections of the Museum.

During the period from 3 December 1986 to 11 January 1987, the exhibition "The Acropolis" was shown. It consisted of models and drawings of ancient Athenian architecture, put at the disposal of the Museum by the Greek archaeological authorities and the Greek Embassy in Stockholm.

On May 25th 1987 the exhibition "With a camera along the Nile. Early photographers in Egypt" was opened. Around 70 original copies of photographs by

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well-known photographers working in Egypt c. 1860–1900 were shown in the exhibition. The photographs were earlier given to the Museum by i.a. Cecilia Pousette and Maud Olson.

Among exhibitions sent on loan from the Museum to other Swedish museums, the exhibition "Ulysses – Scenes from the World of Homer" was shown in two places. The exhibition "One Thousand Years of Greek pottery" was shown from 31 October to 14 November 1986 at the Greek cultural weeks, arranged at Hallonbergen, a Stockholm suburb, by the Greek National Society in Sweden. The Egyptian Department arranged in September–October 1986 a special exhibition, "Egypt of the Pharaohs", in the City Library of Solna.

A new exhibition of Islamic antiquities, "The World of Islam", has been put together and sent on loan to several Swedish museums. It will be travelling for a couple of years, as the permanent Islamic exhibition at the Museum is closed because of the repair.

Some Cypriote antiquities, a male terracotta sculpture from Mersinaki and two heads in limestone, have been sent on loan to the Ueberseemuseum in Bremen for the exhibition "Aphrodites Schwestern", which opened in June 1987.

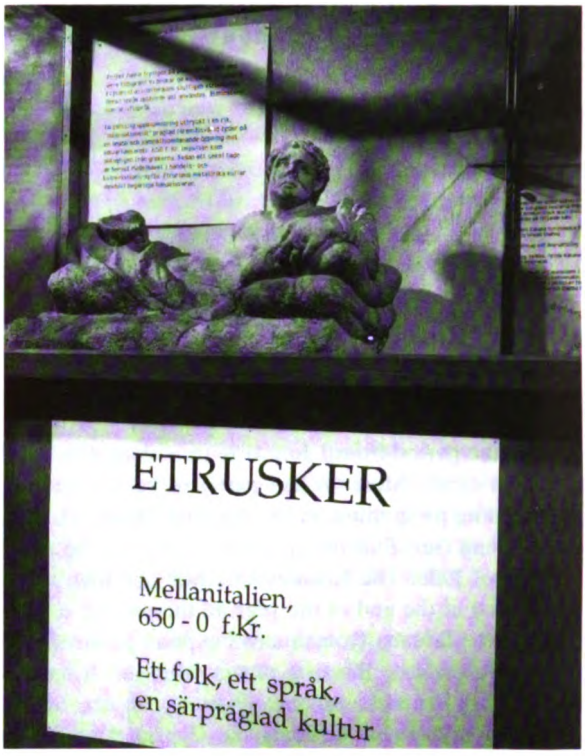
The Museum is planning an exhibition on the Swedish excavation site Labraunda in Caria with objects from the Izmir and Bodrum museums and from the British Museum. The exhibition will take place during the autumn of 1987.

The Museum is also planning an exhibition for 1988/89 of Minoan antiquities from the Greek-Swedish excavation site Chania in Crete and from other museums in the island.

The excavation projects in Greece, at Asine in the Argolid, at Chania in Crete and at Paradeisos in Northern Greece were, as usual, administered by the Museum. The volume on the Late Mycenaean and Submycenaean material from Asine by Dr Barbro Santillo Frizell was published during the year. Unfortunately the printing was much delayed. At Chania a minor excavation took place in May 1987, with Dr Erik Hallager as field director on the Swedish side. The final publication of the Paradeisos excavation was published (see below).

During the year, the scientific work on the material from the Swedish excavations at Carthage in Tunisia has continued. A study campaign in the Carthage Museum is planned for September–October 1987.

The excavations at Carthage are sponsored by the Swedish Agency for International Technical and Economic Co-operation (BITS), while the excavations at Asine, Chania and Paradeisos ara sponsored by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences. The same council has also sponsored Dr Pontus Hellström's continued studies on the architectural remains from the Swedish excavations at Labraunda in Caria 1948–1960. For a new fascicle of Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum the Museum's collections of black-figured and red-figured vases have been studied.



Detail from the small Etruscan exhibition in the Medelhavsmuseet.

During the year, Bulletin 21, 1986 was published, as usual with Dr Bengt Peterson as editor. It contained scholarly articles on objects in the collections of the Museum. In addition two volumes in the Memoir series were published, both with Dr Hellström as editor. Memoir 6 by Dr Charlotte Scheffer was entitled "Roman Cinerary Urns in Stockholm Collections". Memoir 7 by Dr Hellström and others was entitled "Paradeisos. A Late Neolithic Settlement in Aegean Thrace". In the series in Swedish two more titles appeared:

7. Karin Ådahl, The World of Islam.
8. Bengt Peterson, With a Camera along the Nile.

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The display of the touring Islamic exhibition from the Medelhavsmuseet during the visit to Jämtlands Läns Museum in Östersund. Photo courtesy of the Jämtlands Läns Museum.

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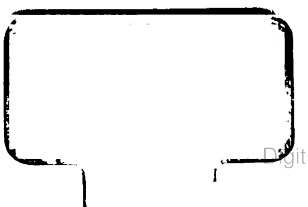

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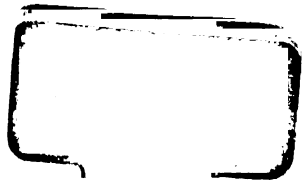

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Memoirs, Vol. 2. 1977, 57 pp., 8 colour pls. and 45 bl-and-wh. pls. Sw. Crs 75
Vassos Karageorghis, Carl-Gustaf Styrenius and *Marie-Louise Winbladh*, Cypriote Antiquities in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

Memoirs, Vol. 3, 1979, 80 pp. Sw. Crs 130
Beate George & Bengt Peterson, Die Karnak-Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836–1837.

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Memoirs, Vol. 7, 1987, 143 pp., cloth, Sw. Crs 200
Pontus Hellström et al., Paradeisos. A Late Neolithic Settlement in Aegean Thrace.

Back volumes of Bulletin 4–21 are available. Price of Volume 4–6 and 9–15 Sw. Crs 100 each, volumes 7–8 (double volume) and 16–21 Sw. Crs 150 each. Volumes 7–8 and 10 are monographs:
7–8, *B. Peterson*, Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung in Stockholm.
10, *B. George*, Frühe Keramik aus Ägypten. Die dekorierte Negadeh II-Keramik im Medelhavsmuseet.

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